

12 JUNE 1987



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JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

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NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

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U.S. POLICY ON WALDHEIM, 'ZIONIST TERRORISM' SCORED

NC040953 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0740 GMT 4 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 4 May (MENA)--AL-AKHBAR expresses surprise and amazement at the U.S. decision to forbid Austrian President Kurt Waldheim from entering the United States merely to gratify Jewish associations. The paper says the decision, which it terms an unprecedented diplomatic mistake, clearly reveals the submissiveness of the government of the world's biggest and strongest country before the Jewish extremist groups which seek to impose their will on even presidents of states.

In its editorial today, AL-AKHBAR criticizes the Americans for following the leaders of Zionist dens in their terrorist campaign against the Austrian president and their attempt to do away with him. These attempts, the paper says, come in wake of accusations made during the Austrian presidential elections that Waldheim participated in the torture of Jews during World War II.

The paper commends the great Austrian peoples' refusal to submit to Zionist blackmail, as well as their insistence on electing Waldheim as president and their support for him when the U.S. decision was made. The paper says the battle has turned into a challenge between those who reject any interference in their internal affairs and groups who would do anything to give vent to their malevolence and who attempt to intimidate and terrorize any leader daring to challenge them.

The paper concludes that one would have expected Waldheim's victory in gaining his peoples' confidence to end the conspiracy sown by Jewish groups and Zionist associations to do away with the man who remained at the helm of the biggest international organization for 8 years and who gave an example of honesty, neutrality, and dignity. But, the paper remarks, this is how Zionist terrorism works.

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CSO: 4500/99

EGYPTIAN DEFENSE MINISTER ON MILITARY STRATEGY

JN271726 Cairo AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 23 Apr 87 p 5

[Interview with Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, by correspondent Jamal Kamal in Cairo--date not given]

[Excerpts] [Kamal] While we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of the recovery of Sinai, what about the power needed to safeguard peace, as well as the limits of this power, in light of threats engulfing us from all sides?

[Abu-Ghazalah] The general rule applied by all political and military schools of thought in the West and East and by major powers or small states is that if you want peace, then you must be ready for war. This rule is being expressed in many forms. Some say peace takes place through power. Others raise the slogan of peaceful coexistence based on power while a third party advocates detente within the framework of power. No one calls for peace through weakness as this leads to destruction. Such is the nature of contemporary international and regional relations. The power you have and your ability to use this power is the measure of the respect you have at regional and international levels. The respect shown to you reflects how others treat you. Does peace mean no one commits aggression against you if you are weak? Is not power the only guarantee preventing others from committing aggression against you? In other words, is not power the guarantee for achieving peace and ensuring it will be protected and respected? As for the military understanding of the limits of the necessary power, it is the power capable of safeguarding independence and territorial integrity on land and sea and in the air from any hostile acts threatening national security.

[Kamal] Egyptian military strategy in recent years was amended by introducing many new services to make it cope with the nature of the stage Egypt and the region are experiencing. What is the military strategy of our forces in the 1980's in light of the specific traits of this stage?

[Abu-Ghazalah] When we speak about military strategy, we must first of all agree on what we are talking about. From this premise, let me explain some important points which strategists always take into consideration:

1. Military strategy serves and supports the national strategy of countries. This strategy does not emanate from a void. That's why military strategy must be in line with and conform to the political, diplomatic, economic, and social strategies of countries, given that the military strategy and the referent strategies are the components of the national strategies.

2. Military strategy is formulated and used to serve the state's supreme interests and objectives. This can be achieved through having the necessary power. If our national objectives, as announced by our political command, consist of stability, development, and peace then a military strategy must be formulated to achieve these objectives.

3. Military strategy must be in line with the requisites of the political and military environment of the state's national security framework, a framework within which our vital interests lie. If we view the political and military environment around us, we see we are living in an area replete with violence, conflict, and the recurrent use of military power to achieve interests. We cannot compare our region to Europe where borders have been definitively demarcated, where the state of affairs is stable, and where its countries resort to discussion and dialogue to solve differences. We live in a region where one-third of the countries are experiencing civil wars in their own provinces or communities, where half of the countries have border disputes, where 25 percent of the countries are waging actual wars, and where half of the countries resort to terrorism or are the target of terrorism. All this has led to huge arms races. More than one-third of government expenditures are earmarked for weapons and more than 15 percent of these countries' labor force are in the armed forces or in other military organizations. These are some of the features of the political and military environment in whose light we must choose a military strategy for protecting our security against all those posing a threat to it.

In light of this analysis of national objectives and interests and of the circumstances engulfing us, Egyptian military strategists have opted after thorough studies for the principle of military deterrence as the principal concept of Egypt's military strategy for the 1980's. Military deterrence, in very simple terms, consists of all the military steps and measures adopted by a state to prevent enemies from making hostile acts against it. If any party attempts to carry out an act of aggression against the state, the state must have a deterrent capability sufficient to restrain any escalation of the fighting and to end the aggression in a manner safeguarding the state's interests. I would like you to consider the political and military environment in our region to assess how much effort is needed to prevent any aggression against us and to defeat it if it takes place.

[Kamal] You said from the early 1970's the Egyptian political and military command was convinced of the soundness of the policy of diversifying sources of arms. Is that policy still in force? Do we need to review the matter in light of the results of your assessment?

[Abu-Ghazalah] The policy of diversifying sources of arms has to basic aspects:

A political aspect connected with ensuring a greater degree of political freedom and a greater exercise of national will when dealing with countries which manufacture and export arms. The basis of the policy is that the modernization of the Egyptian Armed Forces should not be tied to one source or exporter. The matter was thoroughly discussed and we are all convinced of its soundness.

A military aspect is of interest to us, the military, and an aspect which has not been clearly projected to the media. We all know history is full of instances in which a warring side won battles and indeed decided the war in its favor as a result of the kinds of weapons it had and used. We all know the invention of the rifle and the bolt and automatic weapons in the 19th century won the war for those who used them against those who are fighting with spears.

The policy of diversifying the sources of arms means we have the ability to choose the best weapons and equipment necessary for the modernization of our Armed Forces within the framework of what we consider appropriate for our defensive military goals.

Consequently, the Egyptian military constantly follow all the weapons manufactured throughout the world to find the arms most appropriate for our needs within the framework of their cost. We could term this as a reviewing process.

[Kamal] How can the requirements of defending national security and providing the necessary weapons and training be balanced with the requirements of development plans, in light of our firm belief in the need to build a modern armed forces?

[Abu-Ghazalah] The problem of achieving a balance between the economic requirements for defending national security and the requirements for development is not [only] an Egyptian problem. It is a problem discussed and debated by the rich as well as the developing countries, both in economically affluent countries and in those striving hard to reformulate their economy. The Armed Forces do not come from a vacuum: They come from every family, street, village, and town and are fully aware of the magnitude and kind of economic problems Egypt is experiencing and are trying very hard, sincerely, and without bias for their profession to establish the right balance in the difficult equation.

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ABU-GHAZALAH COMMENTS ON MILITARY STRATEGY

NC231402 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2242 GMT 22 Apr 87

[Excerpts] Cairo, 22 Apr (MENA)--Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, has asserted that military deterrence is the principal concept of Egypt's military strategy for the 1980's.

In an interview with the AL-JUMHURIYAH newspaper, scheduled for publication in Thursday's edition, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah explained that military deterrence, in very simple terms, refers to all the military measures adopted by a state to prevent enemies from undertaking hostile acts against it. If any party attempts to carry out an act of aggression against a state, he added, that state must have a deterrent capability sufficient to restrain any escalation in the fighting and to end the aggression in a manner that safeguards its interests.

Responding to a question about the limits of the power required to maintain peace in the midst of threats from all sides, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah asserted: We follow the general rule that "if you want peace, then you must be ready for war." He noted that power is the guarantee for attaining peace and for ensuring that it will be protected and respected. Power is also the means to preserve our independence and to protect our territorial integrity on land and water and in the air from any hostile acts which threaten our national security.

When asked about the policy of diversifying weapon sources, Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah replied that this policy has two basic tenets. The first is political and is linked with the provision of additional political freedom and the application of national will when dealing with countries that produce and export arms. He said that this principle is based on the need to link modernization to more than one source of arms. He explained that this issue has been discussed many times, and we are convinced that such a course is necessary.

The second tenet of this policy is primarily a military one, he added. It is shown by the fact that countries which have emerged from wars victorious did so by virtue of the advanced weapons they used. He noted that history bears witness to this fact.

He said that Egypt is constantly investigating what is being produced throughout the world in order to determine its needs within its available economic means. He noted: This is an ongoing concern. It is part of what might be called the process of reconsideration.

He pointed out that Egyptian military activity is based on quality not quantity, as well as on rationalized military spending. For example, this involves using training simulators instead of actual equipment in order to cut expenses. He also noted that the policy which seeks to secure self-sufficiency in military industries has been expanded.

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MUBARAK CHAIRS SPECIAL CABINET SESSION

NC230357 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 2100 GMT 22 Apr 87

[Text] President Muhammad Husni Mubarak chaired a Cabinet meeting at the presidency in Heliopolis this evening, attended by Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi, deputy prime ministers and ministers.

At the end of the meeting, Information Minister Safwat al-Sharif said that President Husni Mubarak had wanted to chair a special session of the Council of Ministers at this important stage of national action--the beginning of the new legislative term.

Al-Sharif added that President Mubarak stressed the importance of cooperation and coordination between executive and legislative authorities to fulfill national duties, foremost of which is economic reform. The president noted the government's spirit of cooperation and esprit de corps, as exemplified by the Cabinet. The president appealed for such a spirit to prevail throughout the government, at all levels, to ensure proper coordination and efforts for the good of the homeland and the citizens.

During the meeting, President Mubarak stressed that at this important and critical stage economic reform is a priority in furthering the efforts of the state. He affirmed that the economy is the cornerstone of the drive for reform and progress, a higher living standard, and resolution of crises.

President Mubarak noted current contacts with international institutions to obtain better opportunities for the Egyptian economy to rectify its course.

Safwat al-Sharif said that President Mubarak instructed the Cabinet to begin discussing the coming 5-year plan in a detailed and comprehensive manner so that it can be submitted to the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council for discussion and approval. The president noted the need for a scientific discussion of the economic plan and the projects it includes, as this plan is a comprehensive national socioeconomic scheme touching on all areas of the lives and future of the Egyptian people. It represents the national goals around which all efforts and forces must rally. The president affirmed the need to achieve self-reliance in agricultural and industrial needs, in manufacturing strategic commodities on which various industries depend, and in the supply of the basic requirements of the construction and housing sector.

The president said it is important for the private sector to play a role, along with the public and cooperative sectors, by encouraging able citizens to establish education and medical treatment projects through their own efforts and through expanding the activities of productive families to bring about social integration. The president stressed the need for an educational policy in Egypt that is in line with development strategy, society's needs, and expanded middle- and high-level technical training.

The president issued directions for all the ministries to cooperate to promote tourism, completing a plan which will outline expansion projects in the coming few years. He noted that this would encourage investments in this area, from both Egyptian and foreign capital.

Safwat al-Sharif concluded by stating that President Mubarak asserted that the government's responsibility is to ensure stability, which is the bulwark and foundation of freedom and democracy, which we are living, practicing, and enjoying. The president stressed commitment to the Constitution and the law.

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MUBARAK TOURS SINAI, INAUGURATES NEW PROJECTS

NC261754 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 26 Apr 87

[Text] President Husni Mubarak participated in the celebrations of the people of Sinai on the occasion of their national day today. His excellency arrived at Al-'Arish Airport this morning, accompanied by Prime Minister Dr 'Atif Sidqi and Dr Yusuf Wali, deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture and land reclamation, as well as the ministers of housing, communications, information, tourism, the interior, and local government. After shaking hands with the officials who came to receive him, his excellency opened the new extensions of the Rafah-al-'Arish road, which is 45 km long, cost 2.5 million Egyptian pounds, and took less than 9 months to build.

The president then left to inaugurate the al-'Arish port. He was briefed there by the chairman of the Sinai Reconstruction Board, who said that the port, which includes a ferry dock that is 122 meters long, another 100-meter-long dock, and a wave barrier, cost 25 million pounds to build. The president then officially opened the new telephone exchange in al-'Arish, which cost 8,700,000 pounds.

In the South Sinai Governorate President Mubarak officiated at the dedication ceremony for the al-Fayruz tourist village, the first stage of which has cost 7 million pounds. He also visited the Ghazalah village, which was erected by the private sector. President Mubarak was briefed by village officials on the services provided by tourist villages in their efforts to promote tourism in Egypt.

During his meeting with executive and local officials, in addition to the members of the People's Assembly and Consultative Council in the North Sinai Governorate, the president asserted that democracy and stability are becoming stronger and more firmly established in Egypt. He noted that the freedom which the press enjoys has given the opportunity for all views to be expressed. President Mubarak also affirmed that democracy safeguards and continuously corrects itself through the exchange of diverse views by people who are enlightened in a positive way.

At the conclusion of President Mubarak's tour of Sharm al-Shaykh, [Information Minister] Safwat al-Sharif said that the president urged every person who wields a pen to be careful and exact.

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CSO: 4500/100

GHALI VIEWS MIDEAST CONFERENCE PROSPECTS

PM230744 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 16 Apr 87 p 8

[Interview with Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali by Biancarlo Lannutti in Cairo; date not given]

[Excerpts] Cairo--"The idea of the International Middle East Peace Conference is very simple: It entails the Soviet Union's involvement in the peaceful solution of the Middle East crisis. We are thus returning to an idea that Egypt has always greatly cherished and this is to be found in Security Council resolution 338 of 1973, which envisaged a Soviet-American joint chairmanship. In the final analysis, I repeat, the international conference means the involvement of the Soviet Union, together with the United States, in a solution of the problem. And Egypt is consolidating its ties with the Soviet Union and signed an important economic accord with it a few days ago."

These remarks were made by Egyptian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Butrus Ghali, promoter, together with Foreign Minister [Abd-al-Majid, of his country's diplomatic initiative, in accordance with an institutional dualism typical of Egypt and the other countries of the region.

"Of course," Ghali said, "the rapprochement between the two superpowers is not up to us. But we do believe that if we succeed in securing the involvement of both of them, many problems will thus be resolved. We certainly do not intend to underestimate the difficulties facing the convening of such a conference. However, it is certainly the only context in which a new impetus can be imparted to the peace process."

[Lannutti] According to your information and contacts, what is the present U.S. position? Is there really a relative amenability on its part?

[Ghali] Yes, the United States seems a little more amenable, though as you know, it has not hitherto been in favor of an international conference. It must be said, however, that the resolution in favor of the conference adopted by the EC on 22 February is a very important event. Basically we are trying to mobilize the international public and to make them aware of this issue. I would like to point out in this regard that when we began to move on this 18 months ago nobody took us seriously. I would also like to add another optimistic note: Even though there is not yet a general consensus on the

conference, there is consensus on the fact that the status quo is evil, that the situation is deteriorating, and that we cannot wait any longer.

[Lannutti] One of the major obstacles remains Israel's position. Everyone has witnessed the recent clashes within the Tel Aviv Government. How do you view this problem?

[Ghali] I believe that if the idea of the international conference gains substance it could perhaps encourage another election in Israel on this very topic.

[Lannutti] If that happened would you be optimistic about the result?

[Ghali] It is difficult to say. But certainly if the Laborites succeeded in forming a government on their own, or even with the Mapam and a few religious parties, the chances of the conference's taking place would greatly increase.

[Lannutti] The other key problem is the PLO's stance. There have recently been some contradictory signs--on the one hand 'Arafat's willingness to join a united Arab delegation and on the other the abrogation of the 1985 Jordanian-Palestinian accord. What is your assessment?

[Ghali] Yes, there are contradictions. But if the United States and the USSR agree on the conference I believe it will facilitate the solution of problems such as the Palestinians' representation.

[Lannutti] Nevertheless, Palestinian unity remains a requirement for peace negotiations.

[Ghali] We would go further: There must not only be Palestinian unity but also an accord between Jordanians and Palestinians, since on the one hand it would be difficult for the Palestinians to negotiate alone and on the other the Jordanians would never agree to negotiate without the Palestinians' presence. We therefore want a rapprochement, an alliance, between Jordan and the PLO, which could, for that matter, be achieved in new forms, without necessarily coinciding with the old Amman agreement.

[Lannutti] Mubarak's adviser, Usamah-al-Baz, was in Amman 3 days ago. What is the situation between the Jordanians and Palestinians since 'Arafat announced the abrogation of the accord with King Husayn?

[Ghali] Relations between Jordan and the Palestinians have often experienced ups and downs. We hope there will be another rapprochement and that it will be possible to find a joint solution between these two protagonists.

[Lannutti] The difficulties come not only from Israel and certain Palestinian groups but also from some of the Arab countries. For instance, what do you believe Syria's stance will be?

[Ghali] The USSR's participation in the international conference will certainly be an element that will enable Syria in turn to participate and in any case to adopt a more positive attitude.

[Lannutti] Despite the presence of Yasir 'Arafat, whom Syria fiercely opposes?

[Ghali] Certainly. You see, a compromise can always be found, and in any case this is the diplomats' job.

[Lannutti] Let us return to the superpowers' stances. There seem to be signs of a continuous rapprochement between Egypt and the USSR. What is the present status of your relations?

[Ghali] Relations with the USSR are very good, and I can tell you that President Mubarak has appointed me chairman of the Soviet-Egyptian Friendship Association. We have signed an importance agreement for a rescheduling of our debts with the USSR--an accord that constitutes a major success for us--and we are moving toward a further strengthening of political and trade relations between the two countries.

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REPORT ON CRISIS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, PLO

JN281926 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1730 GMT 28 Apr 87

[Huda Tawfiq dispatch from Cairo]

[Text] The prevailing feeling in Cairo following the escalation of the crisis between Egypt and the PLO is one of sorrow and anger at the inability of Yasir 'Arafat and the Fatah leadership to stand up to the pressure and at their acceptance of the wording of the PNC resolution on Egypt--the direct cause of the strong reaction of closing down the PLO's principal offices in Egypt. The closure of these offices is a preliminary measure which could be followed by other measures if there is any new escalation by the PLO Executive Committee harming Egypt.

In implementation of the Egyptian decision, six PLO offices in Cairo, Alexandria, and al-Zaqaziq were closed down. Other Palestinian bodies, such as the Palestinian Red Crescent and the Palestinian Women's Union, were not affected by the measures. According to official sources, PLO representation in Egypt had not yet acquired official status despite the fact the PLO had sent an ambassador to Cairo, namely, al-Tayyib 'Abd-al-Rahim.

PLO offices had not yet regained the official status they enjoyed prior to 1978 when relations were severed and offices were closed down. That is, the representation was no more than an interests section, notwithstanding the great activity allowed by Egypt in view of the contacts and consultations between the PLO and Egypt to support Palestinian rights.

Ambassador Taha al-Farnawani, who held last-minute contacts between Egypt and the PLO leaders in Algiers, said 'Arafat was subjected to horrendous pressure by several Arab and foreign states to agree to the PNC resolution for the sake of the unity of the Palestinian factions which insisted on strongly-worded draft resolutions. He said 'Arafat and the Fatah leadership were able to greatly tone down the draft resolution on Egypt, but some opposition elements exploited the contents of the draft resolution submitted to the political report to launch a strong attack on Egypt and its government.

Yasir 'Arafat, who tried to calm Cairo, sent two messages to President Husni Mubarak during the crisis in which he explained his stand and the pressure being exerted on him and asserted the PLO Executive Committee--the majority of which is led by Fatah--will seek to strengthen relations with Egypt.

Ambassador al-Farnawani accused Syria, Libya, and another Arab state of leading the campaign against Egypt at the PNC session. He also accused Nayif Hawatimah and George Habash of deliberately seeking to harm Egypt. Ambassador al-Farnawani told me he sent a message to 'Arafat with the chief of the Egyptian Interests Office in Algiers in which he affirmed Egypt's rejection of the wording of the resolution and Egypt's rejection of 'Arafat's justification and that he was withdrawing from the PNC meetings on Cairo's instructions.

The situation now is one of expectation on Egypt's side and to wait and see whether 'Arafat, who controls a majority within the PLO Executive Committee, will clearly confirm what he is saying about the basic relationship between the PLO and Egypt and whether such an attitude is sincere or whether the new Executive Committee with its new members will prevent this.

In a telephone conversation, a Palestinian official in Tunis said the PLO had hoped Egypt would not react violently but would wait until the PLO sent an official to Cairo to explain its view.

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CSO: 4500/100

AKHBAR AL-YAMN ASSESSES PALESTINIAN ATTITUDE

JN280940 Cairo AKBAR AL-YAWM in Arabic 25 Apr 87 pp 1, 8

[Ibrahim Sa'dah article: "Once Bitten Twice Shy" in the "Political Stand" column]

[Text] The saying goes: "Once bitten twice shy." However, we in Egypt do not believe in this wisdom! Our Palestinian brothers have succeeded in biting a thousand and one times. Every time we forgive and forget and enjoy the poisonous bites, one after the other! We were and still are welcoming Palestinian leaders with open arms and ignoring the daggers they hide behind their backs, and in fact imagine them as bouquets of flowers to be offered to us at the appropriate time!

We have had enough. We can no longer overlook the hostile feelings that some Palestinian leaders harbor for Egypt, its people, and successive leaderships. We can no longer believe what is being said in front of us secretly and what takes place behind us openly! We cannot bear more Palestinian contradictions. We have borne enough, from the loss of Palestine in the late 40's until the late 80's!

I do not need to go back to the history of Egyptian-Palestinian relations beginning with the monarchy, through the administration of the late presidents Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and Anwar al-Sadat, and ending with the administration of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak. There is not a single Egyptian who does not know the truth about those relations. There is not a single Egyptian who is not pained by the ingratitude that his country has received from those who were, and still are, the cause of all our misfortunes and tragedies. We do not know, even now, how to get out of these misfortunes.

They allowed Jewish emigrants to pour into their country. They blessed the sale of their lands to them. They ignored what the Jews were planning against them. When the Jews expelled the Palestinian homes after killing, butchering, and torturing them, royalist Egypt was the first to rush to the rescue of the Palestinian brothers supported by token forces from most of the other Arab states. The Arabs lost their first war against the Jews. The Arabs, headed by Egypt, lost soldiers and ammunition for the sake of Palestine's Arabism and fraternity. The Arab was not spared the criticism of the Palestinian

refugees who lost their country and sold their lands. They held the Arab states responsible for the defeat before the enemy, which would not have existed, strengthened itself and succeeded in establishing its state on the debris of the Arab Palestinian state were it not for Palestinian negligence.

Egypt, being the biggest Arab state, got the lion's share of the Palestinians' criticisms and accusations, for no reason except that it lost tens of thousands of its officers and soldiers in a war that did not concern it. Egypt was not responsible for the crimes which the Palestinian leadership committed against its people! That leadership exploited what was said about the corrupt Egyptian monarchy and the defective weapons bought by the agents of the former King Faruq, and levelled all kinds of accusations against the Egyptian people and army. In short, the Palestinian leadership at that time succeeded in convincing itself that it was the victim of corrupt Arab regimes, headed by Egypt, which, according to this leadership, were responsible for the loss of Palestine and the establishment of the Jewish state in its place!

In 1952 the July revolution broke out. The Palestinian issue was a top priority for the leader of that revolution, President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. 'Abd-al-Nasir, as an officer in the Egyptian Army who participated in the Palestine war, did not forget the first Arab defeat before Palestine's Jews. He did not forget that groups of Jewish refugees, who were expelled from the entire world and came to Palestine, succeeded in expelling the Arabs from Palestine and in inflicting a bitter defeat on the Arab armies. 'Abd-al-Nasir wanted to avenge Arab dignity in general and Egyptian soldier in particular.

For years and years our main concern was the Palestinian cause and taking revenge on the Jews who were occupying our Arab territory. For many years, our Egyptian leadership's only objective was to build our Armed Forces and to reinforce them with the most sophisticated defense and offensive weapons awaiting the great day of revenge. To achieve this objective, we opposed friends, became enemies of our allies, and sought alliance with the devil. When the western countries refused to supply us with arms we moved toward the eastern countries, which hastened and supported our stands, lauded our principles, and agreed to supply us with what was sufficient in terms of our needs of arms and ammunition. This encouraged us to proceed with achieving our only objective, that is, taking revenge on Palestine's Jews. Nothing was more important than the expected war and no objective was greater than the return of the Palestinian refugees to their usurped homeland.

The Egyptian people were not less enthusiastic than the leader of July revolution, Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, in making sacrifices and in giving the dearest they have for the sake of the expected battle. We all know the sacrifices of the Egyptian people throughout the years and the tribulations and difficulties they endured. Next to regaining the usurped Palestinian territory everything else became easy.

This Egyptian enthusiasm on the level of the leadership and people was not hidden from the West, which was and still is a great support for the Jewish state on an Arab territory. We were surprised by the 1956 war in which Britain, France, and Israel participated and which was aimed at striking at Egypt alone because it was the real force, threatening the security and peace of the Jews' state over the Palestinian soil.

Egypt sustained another bitter defeat in that war. In addition to the thousands of officers, soldiers, and equipment which Egypt lost in that war, it also lost part of its territory and its borders shrank. Not only this, but the entire world considered the conflict between Israel and Egypt only. The world forgot Palestine and dropped it from its calculations. The Egyptian people were pleased with what was said about them despite their defeat in the 1956 war. They were pleased because they were shouldering their responsibility and because they were the only Arab force which can face and defeat the Israeli force to return to the Palestinian refugees scattered in the entire Arab world their territory, their identity, and their state.

Despite this, the Palestinian leaders at that time did not admit what the entire world did admit.

We were surprised to see the Palestinian brothers vying with others in criticizing us, ridiculing our defeat, and gloating over the loss of part of our land in Sinai. True, to our chronic habit of justifying the mistakes of friends, we were not disturbed or bothered. Not only that, but we made great efforts to persuade those brothers of our good intentions, in the hope of winning their approval and toning down their criticism and accusations.

We all lived through that period, and saw how the Palestinian--any Palestinian--was living in our country and how he was enjoying being treated as a first-class citizen, while the Egyptian citizen was receiving--at the time--second-class or even third-class treatment. The administrative restrictions from which the Egyptian citizen was suffering were abolished for the Palestinian resident. The innumerable difficulties faced by the Egyptian businessman were all eliminated for the Palestinian businessman who was allowed to carry out his trade activities without impediment or difficulty. The Palestinian business community in Egypt enjoyed a status that provoked the envy and disgruntlement of Egyptian businessmen. Palestinian leaders in Egypt found a fertile, and unique ground to be exploited and where fantastic profits could be made. With unusual speed, the Palestinian businessman in Egypt became the investor who could defy the law, import banned goods, and achieve an enormous profit in defiance of the socialist system that was imposed on the Egyptian people.

Throughout those years the Egyptian leaders did not abandon their principal goal and their great concern for the Palestinian cause, in preparation for the second battle of revenge. Never mind the accusations of the Palestinian leaders and the doubts they cast on Egypt. Never mind the affluence in which the leaders of the Palestinian organizations--and there are many of them--are living while they seize every occasion to shed crocodile tears over the

suffering of the hundreds of thousands inhabiting the refugee camps and whom international organizations provide with food and shelter. Never mind the anxiousness of the Egyptian leadership to give preference to the Palestinian resident--infants, pupils, students, businessmen, and refugees--over the Egyptian citizen who faces great hardship in joining a school, institute, or university or even in exercising his legitimate right to a job or to running a business. All these--as viewed by our leaders at the time--are mere trivialities compared with the great gain that can be achieved from the Palestinian leaders' support for our stands and goals, as we are the biggest and most important defenders of the Palestinian cause, and the side most anxious to achieve what everyone else failed to achieve.

And when the Egyptian leadership thought Egypt was in a position to score a victory over the Jewish usupers of the land of Palestine it did not hesitate to mass our troops and provoke the enemy in early June, 1967. War broke out and Egypt suffered its heaviest defeat for thousands of years! Never before had a state, which some of us still care to call a so-called state, dealt a heavier defeat to the largest country in the area, as happened in 1967! What astounds me, as an Egyptian, is that we waged that war and were forced into it not to liberate land we lost or defeat an enemy lying in wait for us, but to regain land lost by its owners who then called upon us to restore it for them in the name of Arabism, shared religion and language.

We will never forget the bitter years that followed this historic defeat; for years Egyptians could not look friends in the face, let alone enemies. Arabs without exception found, in the defeat of the largest Arab country, the chance of a lifetime to denigrate Egypt and the performance of its army and leadership! It was understandable that Arabs should have attacked the then Egyptian leadership that posed a threat to their regimes and thrones. But it was really unacceptable that the Palestinian leadership should have gloated over our defeat in a war in which we had no stakes!

The Israeli enemy posed no threat to our frontiers and did not wipe our country off the map to supplant it with its Jewish, Zionist state. The point was that we did not accept for an Islamic, Arab country, Palestine, to vanish and be replaced by Jewish, Zionist state called Israel. While the owners of this state had a nonchalant approach to their rights, sold their land, and either through ignorance of treason, shirked their responsibilities, Egypt pledged itself to defend a people betrayed by their leaders, to restore rights blown away by their owners, and marshal all its potential and resources in order to stand up to an enemy that came to build a state on the land of those who welcomed it and acquiesced in its schemes and sovereignty.

Would that those who lost their land acknowledge Egypt's favor and the goals of its erstwhile leader! Far from it. They attacked Egypt, ridiculed its defeat, and vilified its leadership! We all recall how taken aback the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir was by this attack and ingratitude, and insolent gloating on the part of Palestinian leaders who claimed they were working for their people and to rally Arab forces behind them. 'Abd-al-Nasir never gave up on those leaders or this cause, which he ought to have. He limited himself

to a suspension of the Voice of Palestine radio station which transmitted its venom and criticism from Cairo! That measure was, in my opinion, not sufficient. I would have very much liked the head of the largest Arab state, which had never spared itself for the sake of the Palestinians, to cut the Palestinian leaders down to size.

With their well-known opportunism, the Palestinian leaders succeeded in resuming contacts with Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and also succeeded in convincing him that they are not responsible for the actions of those in the lower echelons of their group. The Palestinians thus resumed their broadcasts on Cairo radio and resumed the transmission of their opportunistic slogans praising the alliance between the people of Palestine and the major Arab country which is capable of restoring their rights and their land!

President Anwar al-Sadat repeated what President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir had done. It is true that President Anwar al-Sadat's interests in the Palestinian cause had been motivated by his desire to avenge the Egyptian fighter for the disgrace he sustained in the 1967 defeat, but at the same time he did not abandon the Palestinian cause for a single moment although he was well aware of the opportunism of those who trade with this cause, those who accumulate fortunes in its name, and those who are among the last people to settle it!

Late President Anwar al-Sadat succeeded in achieving what President 'Abd-al-Nasir had failed to achieve. He succeeded in defeating Israel in the 1973 October war and regained for the Arab nation its dignity and for the Egyptian fighter his identity and capability. Not content with only this military miracle, the late President Anwar al-Sadat devoted his efforts to the settlement of the Palestinian cause and everybody now knows that no one, not even the Palestinian leaders, are concerned in settling it or are working for its sake. The towering departed leader was the only one at the time who tackled the Palestinian cause with the intention of settling it and not with the intention of using it to cover his failure, his unpopularity, or to dictate his will. As a result of this Egyptian insistence and determination, the Palestinian flag was raised for the first time over Mena House on an equal footing with the flags of all the countries which had participated in the Mena House international talks which were devoted to seeking a solution to the Palestinian cause. As usual, the leaders of the Palestinian people who are afflicted with their command refused to participate in the talks. Some of them do not wish to settle the cause of their people because its settlement means that they will no longer enjoy the luxury in which they are living and the good life in which they are basking, and because this will bring about a number of problems and responsibilities which they have no desire to solve or assume.

The leaders of the Palestinian people began their attacks against the Egyptian Government and people. Even the former president of Egypt was not spared from their malevolence and their dirtiest accusations. They called him names they had never used against the Israeli leaders who expelled their people from their lands, erased their country from the map of the region, and transformed its people into refugees living in tents and waiting for alms

from the international organizations. Not content with only this, we were surprised to see that the Palestinian leaders concluded alliances with the regimes which are hostile to Egypt though these regimes persecute the Palestinians who are living under their rule. They concluded an alliance with the Syrian regime while one-third of Syrian territory continues to be occupied by Israel since 1967. They also concluded an alliance with the Libyan regime which set them the condition of adopting its stands, implementing its objectives, and antagonizing Egypt which al-Qadhdhafi considers as being his principal enemy.

In spite of all this, Egypt under late President Anwar al-Sadat did not abandon the Palestinian cause, did not disavow the fraternal Palestinian people, and did not make any concession with respect to any of the Palestinian people's rights.

When President Husni Mubarak assumed power in Egypt, the Palestinians found him very interested in their cause and eager to support their rights and achieve their goals. President Mubarak ignored Palestinian leaders' statements against his country and people and started with a clean slate with them.

President Husni Mubarak inherited an unbearable legacy which no other president could have faced. He has also faced domestic difficulties which no other president has faced. Despite all these challenges, he did not forget the Palestinian cause and did not deal with it like other Arab leaders who would insert this cause in a framework of hollow, misleading slogans.

President Husni Mubarak assumed power in Egypt at a time when the Arab world was boycotting his country, casting doubts on its identity, condemning its policy, and exerting every effort to impose a blockade on it and starve its people. Since he assumed power, President Mubarak has seized every opportunity to stress his tolerance and his deep concern about the general welfare of the Arab nation in general and the Palestinian cause in particular. This is a reality we have witnessed over the past 5 years, and we are still witnessing it. We have witnessed the Egyptian-Palestinian rapprochement, we have witnessed the covert and overt meetings between the Palestinian people's representatives and our political leaders, we have witnessed Egypt's support for the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative as announced by our president, and we have witnessed Egypt's swift move to save the Palestinians from the war of annihilation against them in Lebanon--a fact which prompted leader Yasir 'Arafat, the only realistic man who feels his people's suffering among the scores of bogus leaders, to say that Egypt would be the first country he would visit after his departure from Lebanon and after the failure of the Syrian and Libyan regimes to destroy him and the PLO.

From that moment, a brilliant new phase in Egyptian-Palestinian relations began. We have to admit that leader Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] demonstrated courage when he alone faced the terrorism of the regimes which describe themselves as the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, when he adhered to his conscience, and when he ignored the dangers to him and his legitimate leadership and came to Egypt to express his people's appreciation for the Egyptian leadership which supported him and aborted all the terrible plots against him.

Following that daring visit by Abu 'Ammar, Egyptian public opinion regained its enthusiasm for and optimism about Egyptian-Palestinian relations. We admire the PLO chairman who defies the terrorism of the Syrian and Libyan regimes and extends his hand to the only country which supported his people, guaranteed his struggle, announced its adherence to his cause, and showed its eagerness to enable him to regain his rights.

How huge was the suffering Abu-'Ammar endured from al-Asad and al-Qadhdhafi because of his rapprochement with Egypt. These two terrorist regimes have attributed every shortcoming to Yasir 'Arafat and have used all means to strike at his leadership, reduce his powers, and incite the Palestinian organizations against him. Moreover, we have heard of separatist movements which attempted to remove the leadership from Abu-'Ammar. We have also heard of conspiracies aimed at lessening confidence in the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative and vesting this confidence in other organizations dominated by the Syrian or Libyan regimes. Furthermore, we have heard of suspect wings inside the PLO which rebelled against their leadership, disavowed their principles, and sold their loyalty to Syria only to topple Yasir 'Arafat so as to punish him for the rapprochement with President Husni Mubarak's regime in Egypt for which he endeavored out of his conviction and gratitude.

The past 4 years witnessed terrible fragmentation in the Palestinian unity as relations were severed among all Palestinian organizations and each organization lay in wait for other organizations. Amid this strange conflict the basic cause was lost and the only concern of the leaders of these organizations was to finish each other off. This was not in the Palestinian people's interest nor in the interest of the Palestine question. Moreover, this situation did not help any other party which sought to adopt the Palestinian stand and worked to regain the Palestinian rights. Recently, Yasir 'Arafat became aware of this situation. This man has exerted huge efforts to bring the disputing organizations back to the basic cause and to the only objective. This objective was achieved last week when Yasir 'Arafat succeeded in holding the conference in Algiers which embraced all the disputing Palestinian organizations after a long estrangement.

All Arabs were pleased with this rapprochement in the hope that the Palestinian ranks would be unified so that their first and foremost objective would be the way to solve their problem and regain what they lost. Egypt's people and leadership have been the most zealous and supportive Arabs of this reconciliation which in the last several years was an obstacle to any new, effective move to solve the Palestine question. But what did not occur to Egypt's people or leadership was that this desired reconciliation would take place at the expense of Egypt by casting doubt on its role, harming its moves, and denouncing its policy, which is considered one of the clearest features of its sovereignty.

Palestinian reconciliation between the warring and disputing organizations is one thing, but achieving this reconciliation at the expense of the Egyptian people is another. If these organizations permit themselves to assail Egypt,

its government, policy, and the will of its people as a condition for achieving reconciliation among themselves they should reconsider their calculations. They should also clearly realize that Egypt has had enough of these organizations, their cause, and their tightrope games.

Not one single Egyptian will allow anyone to cast doubt on his Arabism. No Egyptian will allow insignificant people to condemn his country's stands or ignore the accusations by some against a policy supported by the Egyptian people to which they adhere. No Egyptian will allow any Arab or foreign attempt to separate the Egyptian people from their government as though this government was of unknown origin or imposed on the Egyptian people and did not represent these people or carry out their objectives. It is impertinent for some to say at the Palestinian reconciliation conference in Algiers that they would not have any relations with the Egyptian Government until it abrogates the peace treaty with Israel. What is even more impertinent and arrogant is that these people, of whom there are many, say that it is possible to continue contacts with the Egyptian people while severing all contacts with the Egyptian Government as long as it remains committed to the Camp David accords. Let these people know that Egypt will not give in to blackmail or accept any encroachment on its stand or domestic or foreign policies, especially from those who do not have any control over their decisions, threw their country away, wasted their cause, and became divided in their stands.

The Egyptian people unanimously approved the peace treaty which followed our victory in the October war, the sole military victory in modern Arab history, and gave us back our land which we had lost in the wars we waged for Palestine and the cause of the Palestinian people. The Egyptian Government, past and present, did not impose this war on us nor did it force us to accept the peace treaty that followed. The Egyptian Government carried out the objectives of the people who brought it to power. It did not impose on them a policy which they do not accept or insist on stands which they do not support. The people are the main body and the ruling regime is merely a part of it. Therefore, what is the meaning of this stupidity behind which some are trying to hide and separate the Egyptian people from their government, deluding themselves that the people reject the peace treaty and the regime alone supports it?

We have gone through enough suffering for the Palestinian cause. This cause has brought us more than our share of troubles which are the main reason our country has been transformed from a rich country which used to assist others into an impoverished country that the brothers before the foe's ridicule. So much for squandering our efforts, dissipating our resources, and depriving our people for the sake of some people who attack us, reap the full benefits of our generosity, call our roots into question, graduate from our schools and universities, and then gloat over our defeats and ridicule our victories!

If it were up to me I would unhesitatingly proclaim that Egypt stands on the side of the Palestinian cause and supports the Palestinian people in their efforts to regain their usurped rights only when its voice is needed in Arab and international forums. Otherwise, Egypt has nothing to do with what the

Palestinian leaders say or do because the cause is their cause, the problem is their problem, and the lost homeland is their homeland. Egypt has nothing to do with all this. It suffices for it to have its say when it is asked to do so and to give them its vote when they need it.

We have spent more than 30 years offering the Palestinian cause double what we have been offering the Egyptians. We did not pay attention to our problems, we shouldered our burdens, we put up with our crises, and we mobilized our forces and waged with them wars in which we were not directly involved and lost tens of thousands of our soldiers and officers and spent billions of pounds to compensate for the military hardware that was destroyed.

The time has come for us to devote our attention to the Egyptians, to the settlement of their crises, to the improvement of their living conditions, and to the alleviation of their suffering. As for the Arab causes, it suffices that we support them with our hearts, sentiments, articles, songs, and poems!

This is how the other Arab countries deal with such causes. We must imitate them and adopt their methods so that we may not be a discordant tune in the symphony they are playing!

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CSO: 4500/100

COLUMN CRITICIZES PLO DISSIDENT'S CAIRO VISIT

JN101926 Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic 8 May 87 p 78

["Relying on God" column by Mahmud al-Sa'dani: "On the Path of Al-Janjuri"]

[Excerpts] Let God be my witness that I have no objection to Egypt's stand toward the PLO. The servant of God whom I profess myself to be has no doubts that the PLO has gone beyond the permissible limits in its relations with Egypt and that it has poked its nose into Egypt's internal affairs, a matter which the PLO should have avoided. Furthermore, the PLO must try to benefit from the existing situations in the Arab arena in a manner that helps it achieve its desired goal because there is no substitute for this other than attempting to reshape the universe so that it matches the PLO's dreams, an extremely impossible thing to do. Egypt's measures against the PLO offices in Cairo stemmed from Egypt's exercising of its natural rights, a decision that emanated from a soul-searching session with a friend and not one that represented a declaration of war against the PLO.

But gentlemen, please allow me to say that I can almost see a backing down on this policy at present. This week and before the wounds healed, Egypt received a Palestinian named Abu-al-Za'im ['Atallah 'Atallah], a PLO dissident. I do not pretend I know leader Abu-al-Za'im or that I have information on his weight in the Palestinian arena. However, experiences have taught us that Abu-al-Za'im like Abu-al-'Azim, Abu-al-Hakim, and Abu-al-Ramim [names of non-existing figures mockingly used to rhyme with Abu-al-Za'im] are all illusory things. They are no more than cards often used by the Arab regimes to serve the interests of these regimes.

Egypt needs cards to play, especially in the Palestinian arena, because Egypt is the only winning card for the Palestine question. If Egypt the state currently has a dispute with the PLO, this does not mean that the dispute will endure forever. One day the PLO will return to Egypt, and I believe this day is coming closer and that is nearer than many people think not because this return is like fate, but because interests make it imperative that the return be brought about. Egypt is the cornerstone of the Palestine question, all the Palestinians are well aware of this fact, and they have never denied it. If Egypt believes the Palestinian have gone beyond their limits in the Algiers conference, it should not make the same mistake by holding contacts

with dissidents or receiving them in Cairo. These practices fit small regimes that have become accustomed to fishing in swamps and small pools and that, further, dare not fish overseas or in deep waters. When Egypt has a dispute with the PLO, it does not give up its responsibilities toward the Palestine question. The solution to the Palestine question will come through Egypt in cooperation with the Palestinians.

If circumstances necessitate that foes lay down arms and sit together at the negotiating table, shall we rule out the restoration of tranquility among brothers? If differences between Egypt and the PLO have benefits of any kind, these benefits will only be for those who have become professionals in exploiting these occasions to obtain further renown and privileges. They have become very good in playing and exploiting these roles and gaining profits from them. This type of "strugglers" only serve their interests. As for the supreme objectives, long-term strategy, and the usurped and promised land they are all posters required for gaining a living. Many fortunes have been made and have grown as a result of differences among Arab regimes.

Egypt has been lucky not to enter this market or become involved in this game. This formula has been confirmed and entrenched in Husni Mubarak's era. It is wrong to let Abu-al-Za'im undermine this image since there is no interest in that for Egypt. Frankly, clearly, and without flattery, those who advised that Abu-al-Za'im be received in Cairo committed one mistake against the Palestinians and committed 10 mistakes against Egypt, especially since what happened between us and the PLO is only a summer cloud. We have not reached the point of no return. If this is the state of affairs between us and the PLO, I hope and beg that the disagreement remain within this framework and that media campaigns in Egypt cease even if they continue on the other side because it is the interest of many parties--both Arab and foreign--to exacerbate the Egypt-PLO disagreement. Egypt must abort this plot and deny the plotters this opportunity by containing the disagreement and reducing it to a minimum. I wish the Palestinian revolution guidance and success. I beseech God to save it from the Arabs of the (central committee), the Arabs of the (general command), and the Arabs of (electricity and lighting). As for Abu-al-Za'im, we ask God to avert us his evil. If our real setback is that every Palestinian is a leader [za'im], what if one of them suddenly appeared and claims that he is Abu-al-Za'im?

May God protect us from al-Za'im and Abu-al-Za'im!

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AL-AKHBAR ON AL-QADHDHAFI'S 'HIDDEN OBJECTIVES' IN THE PACIFIC

NC110523 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2210 GMT 10 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 10 May (MENA)—AL-AKHBAR newspaper notes that Colonel al-Qadhdhafi's dreams of leadership have begun to turn eastward and to penetrate the southern Pacific, where hundreds of small islands, some of which recently gained their freedom and now enjoy international recognition, are located. The paper points out that this may be attributed to the successive defeats that al-Qadhdhafi's forces suffered at the hands of the Chadians.

In its commentary published in the Monday edition, the paper adds that perhaps it is no coincidence that the Soviet Union is showing interest in the small states in the south Pacific and is attempting to obtain naval facilities and utilities there at the same time that al-Qadhdhafi is turning his attention toward that area, after all the doors through which he has been trying to become an international leader have been slammed in his face.

The paper notes that the Soviet Union's suspicious movements in that area and the treaties it has endeavored to conclude with some of the countries there under the guise of fishing rights and maritime facilities have aroused both the Australian and New Zealand Governments' doubts. Likewise, al-Qadhdhafi's movements and attempts to establish realtions with some of the small countries in the area have alarmed the two governments, who fear his hidden objectives and the possible diversion of Libyan terrorist operations there. This prompted the two countries to issue warnings that they will not allow the Libyan leader to carry out his suspicious practices close to their borders.

Concluding its commentary, the paper notes that al-Qadhdhafi's dreams of an alleged empire may take him to the South Pole one day.

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CSO: 4500/99

GHALI DISCUSSES POSSIBLE VISIT TO ISRAEL, OTHER ISSUES

JN111045 Kuwait AL-ANBA' in Arabic 9 May 87 p 25

[Interview with Butrus Ghali, Egyptian minister of state for foreign affairs, by Sawsan Abu-Husayn in Cairo; date not given]

[Text] [Abu-Husayn] Your intention to visit Israel has given rise to angry reactions. Minister, why do you visit Israel now?

[Ghali] That report is totally untrue and groundless. When I decide to go to Israel my decision will not be based on subjective considerations and does not solicit reaction from whatever party. Egypt has an objective policy, and as a minister in the Egyptian Government I seek to implement Egyptian policy regardless of the fact that some outside parties are pleased or displeased with such a policy.

There is a solid fact that must be mentioned, namely that when Egypt decided to fight the battle for peace it was determined that the peace between it and Israel shall be the way to achieve peace in the whole area, and that a comprehensive settlement will be the basis of such a peace. That is because the peace which Egypt is seeking and is striving to bring about is a peace that is just for all parties. Consequently, Egyptian diplomacy is always centered on peace and is guided by it because it is its main objective. Egypt devotes all its contacts, efforts, and moves to make a correct approach to peace, consequently, my visit to Israel--if it is to be decided--is an effort to be added to the credit of peace in the Middle East. Equally, the decision that I do not go to Israel is the result of a view that holds that such a decision serves the same purpose and is not submission to the will of a party or an attempt to please any side whoever it may be.

[Abu Husayn] In a past statement to AL-ANBA' you said there can be no peace with Israel as long as it continues its aggression on the occupied territory and holy places and kills innocent civilians. Has there been a change that requires the activation of Egyptian-Israeli relations?

[Ghali] Unless Israel meets the requirements of the peace that achieves its interests as well as Arab interests, Egyptian-Israeli relations will not enter the phase of complete and final normalization and the Egyptian-Israeli peace will continue to be burdened by instability. In view of the fact that the

settlement of the Palestinian question is indisputably the crux of peace in the entire region, Egyptian-Israeli relations in 1987 and after 1987 will remain subject to the positive development in the Israeli stand on the Palestinian question. I do not want to be pessimistic, for Egyptian diplomacy believes that the call for peace will ultimately triumph.

[Abu]Husayn] Is there a cold peace in Egyptian-Israeli relations in 1987 following the remarks by Field Marshal 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah and the activation of Egyptian-Arab relations?

[Ghali] In Kuwait President Mubarak emphasized the need to bring about a just and peaceful settlement to the Palestinian problem as a necessary condition for stability in the region. Therefore Egypt asks Israel to withdraw from the Arab territory it occupied in 1967 including Arab Jerusalem, and to respect the UN charter, the principles of international law, and human rights. Egypt calls for a halt in the building of settlements in the occupied Arab territory and respect for the Arab identity of the Palestinian people and for their right to live, their right to security, and their right to exercise their legitimate rights including their right to self-determination.

[Abu-Husayn] Observers and political analysts affirm that peace between the Arabs and Israel is therefore impossible. Are there possibilities that relations will continue without tension?

[Ghali] There is a streak of pessimism in your question which I had rejected toward the end of my previous answer. There is nothing in life called impossible. There are numerous instances in history that confirm to us that what appeared impossible one day or at one time became a shining reality on the following day or at another time. What is important in politics is that there should be the will and determination and a clear goal and insistence on realizing the goal through constant action and tireless efforts without surrendering to despair or losing sight of the goal. Life continues and the important factor is to view matters in a wide perspective and to concentrate on essential facts and not on secondary issues.

The lessons of history teach us that the logic of life is coexistence and dialogue and not confrontation and conflict. It is certain that the logic of life will ultimately triumph in the region which is the cradle of civilization and the home of divine missions that call for understanding, tolerance, and peace.

[Abu-Husayn] Yasir 'Arafat stated that Jerusalem will be the capital of the Palestinians. A statement from Israel also said Jerusalem will remain the eternal capital of Israel. How do you view these statements and what is the declared official stand on the issue of Jerusalem in particular?

[Ghali] The Palestinian statements and the counter Israeli statements fall within the framework of statements war issued in light of the stalemate and the escalating tension between the parties.

The issue of Jerusalem is one of the pivotal issues in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The Egyptian stand on this issue is clear and open. It is fully explained in President al-Sadat's message to President Carter on 22 September 1978. The message says that Arab Jerusalem is an integral part of the West Bank and that legitimate and historical Arab rights must be respected and returned to the city. Arab Jerusalem must be under Arab sovereignty. The resolutions adopted by the Security Council, particularly Resolutions 242 and 267 vis-a-vis Jerusalem should be implemented. All measures taken by Israel to change the status of the city are considered void and their effects must be annulled. The Egyptian policy in fact rejects all Israeli measures which contradict with this stand. Egypt also severs its diplomatic relations with any country that moves its embassy to Jerusalem because this is considered tacit recognition that Jerusalem is Israel's capital—a matter which contradicts with the special status of the city. All believers must abide by the legal and spiritual commitment that the followers of the three revealed religions should coexist.

[Abu-Husayn] How far has the inter-Arab dialogue reached and is the dialogue proceeding on the right path or are there any obstacles?

[Ghali] As a regional bloc, the Arabs would have impact on the course of events in the world. But, in light of our weakness and our deteriorating situation, our value in the world has changed. We lost our position and influence in the region. What is left is a faint voice because of differences and fragmentation.

The meetings that took place within the framework of the Islamic summit in Kuwait were cordial only. The opportunity could have been exploited to review the true dimensions of the problems facing the Arab world and the need to find a clear and defined understanding of the Arab world security, the current Arab situation, and the Arab future as well as to find a comprehensive strategic plan that deals with all this.

[Abu-Husayn] Arab differences hurt the Arab march and Arab solidarity. Why have the Arabs failed to settle their differences and who is responsible for escalating differences?

[Ghali] The exacerbation of Arab differences is a serious phenomenon because secondary Arab differences and conflicts will dominate basic conflicts and crucial issues, particularly foreign interference and backwardness. Political confrontations and sometime violent military confrontations take place among Arab countries as well as confrontations in the form of liquidation among the factions of the Arab Liberation movement. What exacerbates the situation is that the dangers against the security of the Arab world—if created by foreign forces—will be carried out at the hands of a few Arab regimes which take part in the work and institutions of the Arab world. These regimes undermine the Arab framework and exploit their presence to support and reinforce their suspect roles.

[Abu Husayn] Has the Arab League's role toward bolstering Arab cooperation actually ended?

[Ghali] The Arab League was born as a weak regional organization bearing all the Arab world's manifestations and elements of weakness. After 40 years since the establishment of the Arab League it is high time that a new formula for the regional Arab system was thought over. Undoubtedly, the transfer of the Arab League to Tunisia has increased the league's weakness in comparison with its previous state in general. We have a 40-year experience whose lessons can be useful. Any new formula should overcome the negative aspects of past experiences.

[Abu Husayn] Why do some Arab states object to Egypt's return to the Arab countries? And who should take the first step?

[Ghali] Undoubtedly, he who works to move Egypt away from the circle of Arab action is motivated by a short-sighted view which does not even realize self-interest because anyone who believes that he can fill the vacuum if Egypt is absent or kept away is mistaken. This is so because the vacuum can only be filled by one who is able to do so, and not by the one who desires to do so. There has never been any exception at any time. A stronger Egypt means a stronger Arab world and vice versa. Egypt is the heart. Naturally, the Arab body acquires its strength or weakness from the heart's energy. This is a confirmed political truth. It is the outcome of strategic studies previously approved by many experts who studied the Arab world's state or affairs, circumstances, components of strength and elements of weakness, and political developments.

President Mubarak has previously said: Egypt will carry out its natural role whether some like it or not. Its presence will be strong and innovative. No free struggler will ever miss Egypt's role. President Mubarak's clear words set things right before everybody. If there are some people who are not aware of dangers and if they become involved in external schemes, Egypt has a role and a mission toward its Arab nation.

[Abu Husayn] What is the role that must be assumed by Europe in the region in order to reach a comprehensive settlement and a just solution to the Middle East problem?

[Ghali] The statement issued by the 12 EC states on 23 February 1987 calling for the convocation of an international conference for peace in the Middle East under the UN auspices was one of the most important signs of reactivating the European role for settling the Middle East issue. Europe, and France in particular since the era of late leader De Gaulle, has been supporting the idea of settling the Middle East issue within an international framework which grants complete legitimacy for the solution, guarantees its implementation by the concerned parties, and constitutes a European contribution toward ending one of the most dangerous problems since World War II, something which consequently guarantees a European presence in a strategic, vital, and important region.

The European statement centers support for an international conference on the form and general framework, absolutely avoiding the content. This indicates the European countries' interest in avoiding any controversial point on Palestinian representation or other debatable questions.

[Abu Husayn] Is Egypt serious in finding some kind of balance in Egyptian policy toward the two superpowers? Assuming such a trend is sound will Egypt's close relations with the United States suffer?

[Ghali] Egypt's commitment to the policy of nonalignment, which is one of the linchpins of Egypt's foreign policy, makes it necessary for Egypt to work constantly for the achievement of the greatest degree of balance in its international relations and in its relations with the two superpowers.

From the time he assumed office in Egypt President Mubarak has been guided by that policy. In his address to the opening session of the new People's Assembly he asserted that the principle followed by Egyptian policy is to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with all the nations and peoples that reciprocate such a desire and that demonstrate their readiness to respect our sovereignty and safeguard our dignity. President Mubarak emphasized the point by declaring that we do not have any relations with a given country at the expense of our relations with another country and we do not show ingratitude to a friendly state just because another state has shown sympathy with us. These words are clear: They mean that the development of our relations with the Soviet Union does not mean that our relations with the United States are adversely affected.

[Abu Husayn] Will the debtor African states coordinate their stand toward the creditor states with regard to the rescheduling of Africa's debts, particularly following the African mini-summit in Cairo, in light of what happened in the Latin American states?

[Ghali] The debts issue is the most important issue preoccupying Africa. It tops the agenda of any African gathering. It is an issue that cannot be resolved by individual action. It should be viewed as part of a world problem requiring cooperation among several parties in a well-studied policy and quiet planning. The debts issue is the other side of the development issue, and together they constitute the wheel of the economic situation. We should realize that Africa is still rich in natural resources that require investment funds and the greater part of the output of such investment must be channeled to serve the interests of the peoples of Africa. Africa also needs trained national expertise, technical cadres, and workforce, in addition to well-studied and practical plans and a collective national perspective free of tribal and regional fanaticism so that the equation of production and the payment of debts will be acceptable and well-adjusted. No one country can do all this alone but the efforts of all the countries of Africa must be united so that the results will be coordinated. The only way to end the present bottleneck is that there must be cooperation among the countries of Africa before there is cooperation between them and the creditor countries or the

lending banks. These are the concepts which Egypt is seeking to emphasize, consolidate, and publicize in its activities. Egypt's joint African action embodies the philosophy of a south-south dialogue as a necessary prelude to a north-south dialogue.

[Abu-Husayn] How do you assess the Brotherhood Chapter as an alternative to the Egyptian-Sudanese integration formula?

[Ghali] An analysis of the Brotherhood Charter indicates that the purpose is to work for the development of Egyptian-Sudanese relations by activating joint action in various and diversified fields such as the economy, culture, information, and so on and so forth. Egypt views the project as a good opportunity to deepen the fraternal ties of destiny between the people of the Nile Valley in the north and in the south.

The Egyptian-Sudanese Brotherhood Charter clearly shows that the two countries have agreed to adopt gradual and escalating measures that make tangible contributions to the joint march and embody genuine progress along the path of the special relations between the two countries.

In my view that is the real meaning of the charter signed during the Sudanese prime minister's visit to Egypt in February 1987. Egypt will seek to implement the charter, in word and in spirit, out of its belief in the eternal relationship between the same people living all along the shores of the Nile Valley.

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CSO: 4500/99

WEEKLY ON PNC MANEUVERING ON TIES WITH EGYPT

PM061045 Cairo AL-SH'AB in Arabic 28 Apr 87 pp 1, 2

[Muhammad Bakri report: "Secret of the Egyptian Message That Almost Exploded the PNC at the Last Moment"]

[Text] Algiers--The PNC concluded its session in Algiers with a final meeting held last Saturday night in the midst of tension that almost exploded it from within and thwarted the aim for which it was held--to unify the Palestinian factions within the PLO framework in order to confront all the conspiracies hatched against the Palestinian people both inside and outside the occupied territories.

One of the most critical issues that preoccupied much of the PNC debates was the question of ties with Egypt; this question bulked large in the dialogue that took place at the discussion meeting between the various Palestinian factions which preceded the discussions in the political committee set up by the PNC. At this meeting the factions which have recently returned to the PLO's ranks, particularly the PFLP and the DFLP, pressed the need to define a clear stand on the question of relations with Egypt. The factions insisted that the PNC define relations with Egypt on the basis of Egypt's abandoning and distancing itself from Camp David. But the Fatah movement and its leader Yasir 'Arafat made exhaustive efforts to convince the other factions of the importance of not offending Egypt in any way in the resolutions to be adopted by the PNC. This was evident in the political report which Political Department Head Faruq Qaddumi delivered to the council, in which he praised Egypt and its role throughout history as well as the sacrifices it has made for the sake of the Palestinian cause. Also 'Arafat's efforts succeeded in rendering the resolutions of the [earlier] 16th PNC, one of whose resolutions refers to Egypt in particular, devoid of meaning. These resolutions were cited only in order to please the other factions, which have privately been saying that they did everything they could for the sake of national unity and that their adherence to these resolutions was only a stand to avoid losing face before their cadres. Until last Friday night things were proceeding as well as they can inside the council. Egypt was respected and appreciated by everybody. It was evident that there is a great desire for relations with the elder sister Egypt to proceed normally. On the conference level, there was only some speculation in the corridors about Egypt being displeased with

the discussions taking place and the attitudes being adopted, especially the abrogation of the agreement with Jordan and the attendance of Saharan leader Muhammad 'A-d-al-'Aziz at the opening meeting. The latter action prompted Morocco to react by boycotting any meeting attended by Palestinian personalities.

The speculation gained credibility because of the absence of Dr Taha al-Farnawani, in charge of Palestinian affairs at the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, from Friday's meeting for no evident reason. Only Ambassador Salah Zaki, an Egyptian delegation member, attended; he did not give a convincing excuse for Dr Taha al-Farnawani's absence. He neither confirmed or denied reports of Egyptian dismay. However, a serious development occurred in the meetings when an Egyptian envoy delivered a message to Yasir 'Arafat while attending the political committee debates at midnight on Friday. As soon as 'Arafat read the message he passed it to Abu-Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] and to other Palestinian leaders so they could read it. Gloom was evident on everybody's face. Moments later everybody became aware of the secret of the message which the Egyptian president had sent to the Palestinian leadership. It contained the following:

It instructed the Egyptian delegation to immediately withdraw from the PNC meetings.

It considered the resolution regarding Egypt and particularly the citation of the 16th session as an attack on Egypt.

The Palestinian leadership then found itself facing two possibilities: Either it could stick to and insist on its stand and so lose the relationship with Egypt, or it could rewrite the resolution so as to completely avoid mentioning Egypt in an attempt to avoid the dangers threatening the conference.

On Saturday morning the Egyptian delegation left Algiers on the first plane and Palestinian leader 'Arafat called for a meeting of the faction leaders to discuss the new situation and its potential implications. The Fatah movement proposed a new stand: dropping all reference to the 16th session in the final resolutions. This was rejected by the other Palestinian leadership, especially George Habash, who told the many Egyptian mediators from among the delegation members participating in the conference, who played a significant role in bringing the stands of the various factions closer together, that "the only thing left was to be asked to sign the Camp David agreements." When the faction leaders failed to agree on a definite stand and the conference was seriously threatened with an explosion from within, Abu-'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] summoned the political committee, which had concluded its meetings on Friday night, to reconvene its meeting at 1230 hours on Saturday. In fact the committee members went to the meeting place and 5 minutes later were joined by Abu-'Ammar, Abu-Jihad, and Hani al-Hasan. At the same time Dr George Habash left the conference center for his headquarters with commanders of the front of which he is the leader. He declined to answer questions from journalists and held a long meeting with the front's commanders at his headquarters, which is within the compound of the conference venue. All signs were that the PFLP was going to decide to withdraw from the PNC.

On the other hand, the DFLP issued a statement asserting its rejection of the Egyptian Government's warning to the PNC. Nayif Hawatimah stressed that there was a Moroccan-Jordanian-Egyptian conspiracy to strike at and abort the Palestinian national unity which has been achieved for the first time in more than 3 years.

Intensive meetings and talks between secretaries general of the Palestinian faction then continued. The meetings resulted in the compromise reached [not further specified] in order to thwart all attempts to explode the conference from within.

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ABU-GHAZALAH ON MEDITERRANEAN, CHEMICAL WEAPONS

NC061801 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1430 GMT 6 May 87

[Text] Cairo, 6 May (MENA)--Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd-al-Halim Abu-Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, has stated that a Soviet and U.S. naval presence in the Mediterranean could affect the security and stability of this region. Such a presence, he noted, does not represent either the sole or most crucial factor for ensuring this security. He said that various ideas and proposals have surfaced with regard to making the Mediterranean a lake of peace. However, he added, the most positive step would be for representatives of the Mediterranean's 15 countries to get together to formulate a joint naval charter that defines the terms of naval relations in this sea.

In an interview with the [Egyptian] AL-MUSAWWAR magazine, scheduled for publication in Friday's edition, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah asserted that the countries bordering the Mediterranean now possess highly advanced military capabilities that allow them either to enhance security or to create further tension in this region. He stated: the matter is no longer up to the fleets of the two superpowers. Nor is it contingent on whether or not they maintain a naval presence here.

Commenting on Egypt's defense budget, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah said that this is one of the most important issues occupying his ministry and the Armed Forces General Command. He added: I am probably not revealing a secret when I say that the Egyptian Armed Forces did not begin to take a scientific and comprehensive interest in the economic aspects of defense until after the peace agreements had been implemented.

Responding to a question on Egypt's links to the production of offensive chemical weapons, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah affirmed that Egypt is not a party to the production of such weapons whether they involve mustard gas or nerve gas. He added: We are developing the capability to produce the necessary material and equipment to protect our Armed Forces from any chemical attacks.

Replying to another question on our stand vis-a-vis nuclear weapons, Field Marshal Abu-Ghazalah said that Egypt is one of the countries which had signed the nuclear nonproliferation treaty out of concern for the entire human race.

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CSO: 4500/99

AL-AHRAM ON 'EXPOSED SYRIAN MANEUVER' AT PNC

JN291559 Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Apr 87 p 7

[Editorial: "The Reckoning and the Price"]

[Text] It was obvious during the long period of preparation for the PNC and during its meetings under the slogan of national unity that it was a meeting of haggling. The exchange of concessions was an attempt to present to the world a repaired facade which hides grave cracks and serious dents.

However, it was really surprising that Fatah, which commands the majority of the PLO, should offer greater and more numerous concessions in exchange for the single concession offered by the pro-Syrian clique, which was conceived in the womb of Damascus. We are more surprised when we look at the conditions of the cause after these unjust concessions. The cause is now so weak that it cannot stand up to the passing wind.

The efforts of the last few years which began with the expulsion from Lebanon amid large-scale sympathy and the spilling of Palestinian blood at the hands of cooperating friends have gone with the wind. So also has the struggle in the occupied territory, which has been raging for about a month in an unprecedented manner. This struggle was repressed not only by the force of Israeli arms but also by those who trade with the slogans of struggle and whose forte is severing ties at a time when connections and contacts are sorely needed.

The agreement with Jordan, which had been one of the PLO's gains and a factor which proved to the world the PLO had abandoned its hotheadedness and become flexible, is now torn and thrown in the dirt in exchange for a fragile promise to dissolve the so-called Salvation Front [PNSF], which comprises the little bands of the anti-'Arafat people who lives in Damascus.

Finally, the greatest and strongest of ties with Egypt, with all its resources, weight, and sacrifices for the cause, are severed recklessly and replaced with a vague formula--as in the case with Jordan--which does not change reality. All this is done for the sake of a hypothetical unity among warring factions--unity which will always be doubtful and threatened even by those who agreed to it.

Judging by indications so far and until other factors prove the contrary, the whole thing is nothing more than an exposed Syrian maneuver which easily deceived leaders whom we thought to be wiser and more skillful. This maneuver was aimed at conceding the least in exchange for the most, namely, all the chips the PLO would be able to use at the negotiating table. Now, the grand maneuver is being prepared for 'Arafat when his new allies will turn against him after stripping him of all his gains.

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DAILY URGES DISSOCIATION FROM PALESTINIAN ISSUE

NC020525 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2230 GMT 2 May 87

[Excerpt] Cairo, 2 May (MENA)—Under the headline "A Leaf That Is Due To Be Turned," the AL-AKHBAR newspaper states that it no longer befits us to show any more interest or make any more comments. Our time is too precious to be wasted in discussing the behavior of leaders and groups who make their people's pains and misery a profitable business and who are eager to keep these issues unresolved as long as possible in order to further their own personal interests and goals.

The paper says further: We must now devote all our resources and efforts to regaining what we lost in wars with which we had nothing to do. We will now be content with wishing success and guidance to those who want to keep away from us. The issue is first and foremost their own, and they alone have to struggle for it. It is regrettable, the paper says, that those whose land we helped to liberate and break away from the shackles of its colonization have now chosen assailing Egypt as their main goal. Those for whom we endangered our country's security and independence now pose a danger to our security.

The paper calls for making what has recently happened in Algiers the last lesson that we must not forget. We must try not to poke our fingers in places where we have been repeatedly bitten. Let us turn over a new leaf and devote our efforts, first and foremost, to our own people.

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CSO: 4500/99

AL-AHRAM PAPER ASSAILS PNC RESOLUTIONS

NC010846 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2115 GMT 30 Apr 87

[Text] Cairo, 30 Apr (MENA)--The newspaper AL-AHRAM asserts that Egypt's closure of the PLO offices in response to the violations decided upon at the PNC meetings in Algiers in no way affects the essence of Egypt's firm stand. This stand rests on an unflinching Arab affiliation and on the support for the Palestinian issue, which is not shaken or affected by such violations and trivialities.

In the edition to be published tomorrow, Friday, the paper states that Egypt's decision was an expression of the feeling of the average Egyptian, who received with absolute astonishment, bitterness, and pain the PNC's resolutions and statements. These resolutions and statements, the paper adds, signify a denial of the Egyptian people's sacrifices from 1948 up until the present day.

AL-AHRAM notes that this decision, which met with overwhelming public satisfaction, did not stem from a desire to abandon the responsibilities of the Palestinian cause. Rather, it was an expression of a desire to adopt an objective approach to the PLO and some of its leaders. The paper asserts further that the Palestinian leaders' resolutions in Algiers insulted not only the Egyptian people, but also the Palestinian people and their struggle. It notes that those who accepted the decision to antagonize the Egyptian people for the sake of pleasing the Syrian regime, which has humiliated the Palestinians, cannot be trusted to assume the responsibility of the Palestinian struggle. The paper expresses the belief that the Egyptian people's shock from the behavior of some irresponsible leaders who are considered to be part of the PLO stems from a genuine understanding that some of these leaders do not really seek a solution to the Palestinian issue. Otherwise, the paper wonders, who can their act of issuing resolutions be explained? The least that can be said about them is that they are designed for oneupmanship and local consumption.

In conclusion, AL-AHRAM points out that those who wanted to go between the Egyptian people and their government not only strayed but also proved they actually misunderstand the Egyptian people, who are rallying around their national leadership as never before. The Egyptian people are fully convinced that the current of peace is the strongest and most durable. The paper notes that nobody gave peace to Egypt as a gift; Egypt wrested its land through the sacrifices of its martyrs and the courage of its fighters.

BRIEFS

URGE FOR PEACE EFFORTS--Dr 'Isamat 'Abd-al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, met this afternoon with a U.S. Foreign Relations Council delegation. The delegation, which is currently visiting Egypt as part of a tour of the region, included a number of politicians, journalists, and businessmen. 'Abd-al-Majid discussed Egyptian efforts to convene an international peace conference to achieve a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. He noted Egypt's pioneering role in the Arab world, the Islamic world, in Africa, and within the Nonaligned Movement. He reviewed the development of Egyptian-U.S. relations, which are based on common interests and mutual respect, in various fields. He called on the United States to step up its efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East and to help create favorable conditions for an international conference for peace. [Text] [Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 1500 GMT 25 Apr 87 NC] /9738

AL-BAZ MET SYRIAN OFFICIAL--AL-KHALIJ has learned that Dr Usamah al-Baz, adviser to President Husni Mubarak for political affairs, met with a high-ranking Syrian official during his recent visit to Jordan. Informed sources told AL-KHALIJ the Egyptian-Syrian meeting took place as a result of an arrangement made by King Husayn and Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad during their recent meeting in Damascus. The same sources also said these Jordanian-mediated meetings are expected to result in rapprochement between Egypt and Syria, especially following some contacts made by nongovernmental Egyptian sides. Reports from Cairo had said a Syrian official visited Cairo and met with the Egyptian political leadership and that al-Baz' visit to Jordan was aimed at holding a meeting with the Syrian official. [Text] [Al-Shariqah AL-KHALIJ in Arabic 20 Apr 87 p 1 JN] /9738

CSO: 4500/100

ARMS DEALERS ALLEGEDLY OPERATING ABROAD

Kuwait AL-QABAS in Arabic 31 Mar 87 p 18

[Article by 'Ali Ballut: "Meyuhas, Israel's Pathfinder in Africa; Shabtay Leads Confrontation With Arab Expatriates in Sierra Leone; Eisenberg, Star Foreign Businessman in China"]

[Text] When former Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres offered U.S. President Ronald Reagan's administration Israel's available potential to facilitate establishing new bridges between Washington and Tehran, the White House asked by what ways and means such a goal could be achieved.

Smiling, Peres replied that Israel has its "secret army" of Jewish businessmen on most continents and that "the army" is closely linked to the Israeli administration, from which it receives its instructions.

As a matter of fact there is nothing new about the Israeli government's reliance on Israeli and Jewish businessmen and arms dealers in all parts of the world. The "secret army" has successfully completed assignments in Africa and more specifically, in Southeast Asia and has been able to reinforce Israeli diplomatic, economic, and military penetration over there. The latest twist in the situation is the clandestine organization worked out by Israel's security authorities to determine action to be taken by the "secret army" and the means that have been provided to ease its task of establishing close relations with the leaders of countries lying within Israel's target areas, particularly those that have no diplomatic relations with Israel. One of the most outstanding features of that clandestine organization is the care taken to cover up its real activities and the persons involved posing as successful businessmen, using all the assistance provided by Israel's security machinery to acquire a prominent social position and to ease the task of maintaining continuous contact with all levels of decision making in those countries.

Members of the "clandestine force" concentrate their attention on local nationals who have graduated from various Israeli institutes. There is a proportion of decision makers in the newly developed countries—especially Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia—made up of graduates who have completed their academic studies in special Israeli institutes and institutions, the most noted of which is the Afro-Asian Institute operated by the Histadrut, known for its close ties to Mossad.

The detailed information appearing in this article sums up studies and investigations carried out by international bodies and institutions concerned with enumerating Israel's overt and covert activities in various parts of the world.

I. Latin America

One of the many names that have appeared in reports of the U.S.-Israeli arms deal with Iran was that of an Israeli arms dealers Pesah Ben-Or, whose miscellaneous activities are based in Latin America. It has been established that Ben-Or is the military and financial link between the Israeli Defense Ministry and the contras opposing the Nicaragua regime. For many years Ben-Or has been able to cover up his real activities by posing as a successful businessman, even though his commercial activity has been confined to trading in small arms and electronic surveillance devices used by security forces.

Ben-Or manages his clandestine activities and overt business from Guatemala. His company, known as "Armament and Weizert Egel" is in Guatemala City in the Hotel Cortijo Reforma, where the company occupies an entire floor guarded by a special detachment of Israeli military experts. Ben-Or also acts as an agent for "Tadriran", the Israel Aircraft Industry, and Cyclone factories, all of which are located in the Rumay'il settlement in Palestine's West Galilee region. The factories produce aircraft materiel and spare parts.

Ben-Or (38) began his activities in Latin America some 10 years ago, after leaving the Israeli paratroop corps and completing a number of training courses. On his arrival in Latin America he set up a special institute to train Guatemalan signals and air force personnel. Through the medium of the institute he was able to conclude a number of technical deals with the country's telecommunications authorities in collaboration with the Israeli Defense Ministry. This resulted in his reinforcing contacts with the military juntas of Guatemala and Honduras, by which he was awarded a contract providing for Israeli military experts to repair and upgrade Guatemalan air force helicopter squadrons.

In addition to arms deals and other military activities, Ben-Or took a special interest in political matters. His name was linked to an attempted military coup in Honduras. During the secret investigation conducted after the affair became public, it was established that Ben-or had been in contact with a U.S. national of Armenian extraction named Gerard Latkanian of Miami, Florida. It was also established that Latkanian had been working with a group planning a military coup against Roberto Suarzo, the president of Honduras, coordinating activities with the Honduran military attache in Chile, Jose Buazo-Rozeh. The investigations further revealed that the plan was financed by smuggling huge quantities of drugs into the U.S. market.

In this connection, the secret inquiry indicted that Ben-Or had been able to mobilize two Israeli agents to take part in financing and marketing drugs in various American cities. The two agents are Pinhas Dagman and 'Amos Gil'ad, both employees of (Sharfard), the American arms dealer with offices in Miami

and Washington. Pinhas had served as representative of the Israeli Aero Industries for the area from Mexico to Colombia, as well as the Divim Ma'archot factories. He used Ben-Or's Miami home as a residence. Amos Gil'ad was a staff officer in Israel's Transport Command.

Although the authorities in Honduras were able to uncover the coup and detain the plotters, Ben-Or remained free to pursue his activities. This is said to be due to open intervention by the Israeli Defense Ministry and Mossad to protect him and his group. There was a swap in which Israeli arms were shipped as a gift to the Honduran Army in exchange for the destruction of documents implicating Ben-Or and his group. When the U.S-Israeli arms deal with Iran was revealed it became clear that the Israeli arms sent to Honduras were of a magnitude exceeding the army's requirements and some of the arms found their way to the contras in Nicaragua. This latter consignment included Soviet-made arms captured by the Israeli forces during the 1982 invasion of Lebanon. Some of the arms were found in the wreckage of the U.S. aircraft downed by Nicaraguan government forces last 5 October.

American sources have it that Ben-Or was overseeing the shipment of American and Israeli arms to Nicaragua's opposition contras throughout his stay in Guatemala and Honduras. He has used Israeli's Hercules air transports which were operating out of a private airfield in Miami. Although the Israeli Defense Ministry admitted the aircraft had been using the Miami airfield it denied that it was transporting arms to the contras.

II. Africa

Two years ago, when Zaire and Israel decided to reestablish relations, a certain Me'ir Meyuhas emerged prominently in the Israeli group that was working to reinstate Israel in Africa after the October 1973 war. Meyuhas was known in Africa's ruling circles as the "man of many secrets." He was the man behind Shimon Peres's recent visit to Cameroon which led to the communique on the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Meyuhas began his clandestine activities for Israel in Egypt in 1954. At the time he was detained by the Egyptian authorities along with members of the terrorist "Jewish network" which, on the instructions of Mossad, was planning acts of sabotage in Cairo and Alexandria. Meyuhas spent 7 years in Egyptian prisons and on his discharge made his way to Israel where he spent no more than a year. He was then instructed to relocate to Africa and concentrate on Zaire, where he acted under cover while his real task was to create wideranging contacts with senior military and political leaders in Zaire.

His importance became paramount following the 1973 October war when President Sese Seko Mobuto broke off diplomatic relations with Israel in line with most African countries. In the interim Meyuhas was able to draw closer to the Zairian president, eventually becoming his private secretary and in due course the principal channel between Zaire and Israel. In 1981 he used his close relationship with Mobuto to arrange a secret visit by the then Israeli defense minister, Ari'el Sharon, to Zaire. He also persuaded the Zairian president to

recruit a special personal bodyguard of Israelis to protect him from any possible coup. He also recruited Israeli agricultural experts to run his own private farms.

At the same time Meyuhas used his close relationship with Zaire to transfer his activities to Cameroon, where in a very short while he was able to draw close to President Paul Bi'a after the abortive coup in April 1984. He used the same tactics that he had used with the president of Zaire and persuaded the president of Cameroon that the best way to preserve his regime was by recruiting an Israeli bodyguard. This proved to be an easy task, especially since some of the president's own bodyguard had been implicated in the attempted coup. Fifteen Israelis were recruited to be the Cameroon president's personal bodyguard, which helped further cement relations between Cameroon and Israel, resulting in the purchase of Israeli arms including Kfir warplanes.

Another Israeli businessman active in Africa is Shabtay Kalmanovitch, whose latest activity involved an attempt to undermine the position of Lebanese and Palestinian businessmen, especially in Sierra Leone. In that country there is a fierce struggle going on between the Arab group led by Lebanese businessman Jamil Sa'id and the Israeli group led by Kalmanovitch. Through his close personal relationship with Sierra Leone President General Momoh, Jamil Sa'id was able to invite PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat to visit Sierra Leone. 'Arafat and the Sierra Leone president met and a joint communique was released condemning Zionism and its collaboration with South Africa's racists. 'Arafat also offered to rent Banana Island for \$8 million a year to train 300 Palestinian fighters. The offer was accepted by the president who later had to back down under tremendous Israeli pressure led personally by Kalmanovitch.

Kalmanovitch is president of the Israeli firm Liyat, which is supervising a number of major projects in Sierra Leone. The firm is officially registered in Frankfurt, West Germany, and has dealings with Liberia, which is the principal Mossad headquarters in West Africa.

It is worth noting here that Israel's diplomatic return to Africa does not owe so much to Meyuhas and the others as much as it does to the efforts of David Kimche, former director general of the Israeli Foreign Ministry, who is considered one of the most prominent Israeli experts in Third World and especially African affairs. Kimche recently resigned from his post and is now employed as private advisor to Tiny Rowland, who operates large plantations in Africa besides owning the British newspaper OBSERVER.

III. East Asia

David Kimche's endeavors and activities have extended from Africa to Southeast Asian countries where his assistants Saul Eisenberg and Lawrence Khadduri along with a few other names, none of whom is very familiar in the business world, have gained prominent positions. Despite their relative renown in the commercial world, their real activities are shrouded in secrecy.

Eisenberg began his trading activities in Japan in the fifties. On behalf of Israel he offered assistance to South Korea after its secession from the north following the Korean War. He is now considered to be the most important foreign businessman in China, second only to the Japanese. His companies occupy six huge office premises in the main Chinese provincial capitals and he is known in Israeli circles as the Chinese Armand Hammer. (Armand Hammer, an American, has maintained relations with Soviet leaders since Lenin's time and has played an important part in conveying viewpoints between the superpowers).

Quite recently the Chinese government asked Eisenberg to conduct a thorough study of China's agricultural requirements and the latest planting techniques to develop agriculture. Eisenberg intends to carry out his agricultural projects in China in collaboration with his close friend Ari'el Sharon and with Avi Duda'i, an Israeli businessman. Eisenberg has been able to arrange two visits by Israeli businessmen and representatives from Israeli ministries to Beijing. The outcome was a Sino-Israeli agreement giving the government-owned firm of "Agridan" the right to set up food-processing factories and develop arid regions in China into arable land.

Lawrence Khadduri has been able to establish Sino-Israeli relations on the military plane. He was the first to recognize China's open-door policy towards the West in 1979. At that time his firm "China: Light and Power" supervised the construction of a power station in Guangdong Province, and as a result of his close personal relationship with Chairman Deng Xiaoping was awarded the contract to build the nuclear power plant designed to supply China and Hong Kong with electricity. The plant is located in Daya Bay and is expected to cost \$4 billion.

Lawrence Khadduri is a Jew of Iraqi extraction and is now leader of Hong Kong's Jewish community. His special qualifications give him an important role in reinforcing Sino-Israeli relations. Another member of Israel's "secret army" in China is Eliyahu Boran, who set himself up in business in Hong Kong 5 years ago. He has contracted with several Israeli and European firms to carry out construction projects in various areas in China. Then there is Eytan Yisra'eli, who was formerly the Israeli agricultural attache in the United States. His firm is currently overseeing dairy farming and a number of irrigation projects in China.

At the same time the Israeli authorities are exploiting their relations with American Jewish businessman who occupy a prominent place in China's business and major projects world. These are headed by American Jewish lawyer David Bookstein and Dr Moshe Behring, general manager of the international insurance company "Menora," who bears Israeli and American dual nationality. Bookstein was recently awarded the right to execute 250 trade projects in China involving manufacturing and agriculture. His firm which does not have the capacity needed for such major projects has agreed with a number of Western companies to carry out the contracts, which stipulate that they train Israeli experts in fields where there is a shortage.

These and other Israeli and Jewish businessman have recently joined "Israel Partnership," the foundation of which was announced by Saul Eisenberg at a meeting of Jewish millionaires held in Jerusalem last November. The purpose of the partnership is to collect \$1 billion to strengthen Israel's economy by organizing the efforts and relationships of the worldwide "secret army."

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CSO: 4404/339

VARIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN AIR DEFENSE FORCE LAUDED, EXTOLLED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 2 May 87 p 11

[Article by Hamad al-'Askar: "The Kingdom Has Managed To Build Its Forces by the System of Balanced Modernization"]

[Text] One distinctive point regarding military considerations in our country is our ability to build our armed forces by the system of balanced modernization, since the human element has become the main equation vis-a-vis the machine. This system has provided us with a domestic staff which has been able to deal with and manage arms technology and maintain it with total confidence. Saudi fighting men and security figures have proved their absorptive ability, which is no less than any international capability, and this we can find in all our armed forces of various sectors. The process of the development of air defense, as one of the main important branches in our armed forces, has continued, proceeding from this strategy which our armed forces will embrace. Therefore, the process of modernization and development in air defense areas has occurred in conjunction with the process of accrediting the human element to manage this vital sector and accrediting the human element so that the great role in it may be assumed by the Air Defense Institute, which is now preparing one of the important channels for building man in our armed forces.

The Air Defense Forces Institute consisted of a small wing in the artillery service school in al-Ta'if. This wing was established in 1955 for the purpose of training in light anti-aircraft artillery. With the development of anti-aircraft it was necessary to develop this wing so that it would become more than just a wing and would be transformed into the anti-aircraft artillery school. That happened in 1963. Since development has not ceased and anti-aircraft air defense weapons must keep abreast of this development and, in their volume and resources, be in keeping with the rapid development which has occurred in the air defense service, the name of this school thus was changed to the air defense school in 1966. On 14 September 1982, when the order of the servant of the two holy shrines, King Fahd Ibn 'Abd-al-'Aziz, was issued turning this designation into "the air defense institute," in view of the great development encompassing all facilities that the servant of the two holy shrines had observed during his visit that day, and his observation of the progress in the educational and technical level in the

institute, after air defense had become a fourth force by name of the Saudi royal air defense forces, the institute assumed its current name, which is the Air Defense Forces Institute.

The task of the Air Defense Forces Institute is to provide educational accreditation for officers, soldiers and students so that they can operate and maintain air defense force weapons and work in all air defense areas.

The task of the air defense forces is to protect the skies of our beloved nation from everyone who takes it upon himself to enter our airspace and he will find himself faced only with an advanced arm under the command of personnel who are devoted to their religion, their nation and their king.

The Air Defense Forces Institute is considered one of the modern institutes training young Saudis to use and maintain modern equipment and materiel which can challenge any alien body that enters the skies of our precious kingdom. Therefore we find that the institute is composed of the following sections:

Administration, security, education, supply, students' clerks, the public affairs section, the Islamic guidance section, the sports activity section and the studies and analysis section.

These sections teach, plan, organize and supervise the execution of educational activities and the education of air defense forces officers, soldiers and students in languages, electronics, elementary and advanced mechanics and computers in addition to the instruction, maintenance, operation and use of antiaircraft artillery equipment, the instruction, operation and use of rocket equipment in the air defense forces, education in and operation, maintenance and management of command, control, communications and electronic war system equipment in the air defense forces and in addition instruction in command, tactical and administrative considerations.

Thus we find that the air defense forces are considered the fourth force, after the air, naval and land forces. Therefore we observe that all our various forces have developed perceptibly in keeping with the development our dear kingdom is witnessing in all areas.

We also find that the four forces contain some of the best, most accurate types of weapons in the world and therefore the young Saudis must be trained in the command, operation and maintenance of these weapons. The young people of the nation have been a model in the responsibility imposed upon them. Therefore, the young people of the youthful kingdom have rushed to the military faculties and military institutes, enlisting in this area, led by one hope, which is protection of the pure religion which flies the flag "no God but God and Muhammad the Prophet of God" fluttering in the skies of our dear kingdom.

Thus, my dear young people, you will find the proper scope in the institute, as in other faculties and institutes, for developing your skills and abilities to be at the service of this dear nation by means of the air defense forces.

COOPERATION COUNCIL CONSTRUCTION PLANS REVIEWED

Riyadh AL-RIYAD in Arabic 2 May 87 p 15

[Article: "\$86.4 Billion Total Spending on Construction Sector in the Council Countries to 1990"]

[Text] Total spending on the construction sector by the private and public sectors in the Arab Gulf State Cooperation Council countries has been estimated at about \$86.4 billion from this year to 1990; \$64.2 billion of this will be in the Saudi market alone and the rest in the other countries of the Cooperation Council.

The study by the coordinating office of Cooperation Council contractors which was published recently in the United Arab Emirates stated that the problem local contractors in the cooperation countries are facing is a deficiency in financing facilities, since the commercial banks have reduced the allocations granted to these contractors following the decline in the activity of the construction sector and the local companies, especially the weak ones, have found that the allocations the banks provide are much less than their actual need.

The study pointed out that this situation has created problems of liquidity for most companies since they have become incapable of offering adequate financial guarantees or even the costs of starting the projects for which they have been granted. Spending on the construction sector by the public sector in Saudi Arabia alone in the three years 1987-1988-1989-1990 has been estimated at about \$14.4 billion a year, while the private sector's spending will come to \$7.4 billion a year.

The study said that it is certain that the banks will benefit from many banking activities connected to construction projects such as the opening of letters of credit and the contractors will turn toward the banks to obtain loans to cover their expenditures until the time they receive the value of the contracts related to the project owners.

It is expected that the need for such facilities will increase in the coming years and demand for phased loans for a period of 3 months will decrease, to be replaced by loans for periods ranging from 6 to 9 months, and this will provide more opportunities for financing for the banks.

The study pointed out that in the past contractors spent about a quarter of the costs of construction projects on the purchase of the machinery and equipment needed to carry out the projects. Now, however, it is expected that this rate will drop to 20 percent, since it is believed that these contractors actually have a reasonable amount of the requisite equipment. In addition to that, the contractors might increasingly resort to the rental of equipment rather than purchase of it.

The study has set the total demand for financing of construction equipment to 1990 at about \$3,373,000,000 a year in the Saudi market alone.

In the framework of the other Gulf Cooperation Council countries, the office has estimated the public sector's spending on construction at \$5,624,000,000 a year from now to 1990 and the sum will rise to \$7,311,000,000 a year if private sector spending is added to the building activities. The cooperation council country contractors' coordinating office estimates point out that the total spending on private housing and non-housing construction projects constituted about 30 percent of the level of public expenditures related to construction activities in cooperation council countries besides the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

It is expected that the level will remain stable in the coming years.

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CSO: 4404/359

BA'TH REGIONAL COMMAND SECRETARY MUDDATHTHIR INTERVIEWED

Khartoum AL-HADAF in Arabic 9, 12 Apr 87

[Interview with Professor Badr-al-Din Muddaththir, Ba'th Party regional command secretary, by Kamal Hasan Bakhit: "We Shall Continue To Be Intent on Holding to the Path of Positive Opposition"; place and date not given]

[9 Apr 87 pp 4, 5]

[Text] The masses of the Sudanese people have celebrated the second anniversary of the glorious March-April uprising that overthrew one-man rule and restored the freedom and rights of our people, placing our country on the path of progress and unity. On this occasion, AL-HADAF conducted the following interview with Professor Badr-al-Din Muddaththir, regional command secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party. In it, he dealt with and evaluated the political situation in our country in light of the goals, slogans, and visions of the uprising and the struggle-related tasks to which it is committed.

The following is the first part of the interview:

[Question] On the first anniversary of the uprising you spoke about renewing the uprising. A year after the establishment of constitutional institutions in the country, do you still believe the uprising is in need of renewal?

[Answer] Those words at the first anniversary were an expression of the conviction of the party and people that the transitional government's institutions had completely failed in realizing the goals of the uprising; virtually their only success had been in carrying out their promise to hand over power to an elected government at the end of the transitional period. The Ba'th therefore raised the slogan that these goals should become the basis for the agenda of the elected legislature and parliamentary government. However, the passage of a year after the establishment of constitutional institutions in the country has not caused our country to make serious progress on the road to achieving these goals. We were constantly hearing rationalizations from the officials of the new executive authority, whatever the opinion of the people may have been about it. The most important of these rationalizations was that the transitional constitution tied the government's hand. However, it was easy for the transitional previous government to

achieve these goals by relying on revolutionary legitimacy. This rationalization was the basic announced motive behind the constitutional amendments submitted by the parliamentary government. Now that these amendments have been passed, there is no longer any rationalization that can be used to justify hesitation in moving the uprising forward to realize all its goals. Liquidating the vestiges, supports, and remainders of the May regime has become the thing that the masses expect this government to accomplish without hesitation or delay.

The basic reason for the feeling of frustration that has affected a large part of the masses of the uprising is the perception by the masses of the people of the fact that the continual worsening of the bad economic situation and the increase in their suffering every day are closely linked to the inability of the new legislative and executive institutions to liquidate the May regime's vestiges on the legal, political, and economic front and at the level of the highest echelons of certain state agencies. These things are also linked to the truce or constant flirtation with remnants of the May regime--politicians and members of the dissolved state security apparatus.

If the parliamentary government is really serious about realizing the goals of the uprising after the constitutional amendments, a real liquidation of the vestiges and remnants of the May regime will guarantee the rallying and mobilization of the widest public behind and around the government. At that time, there will be an end to the reason for the current fear of the influence of the remnants of the May regime, a fear that still dominates the world of finance and economy and the black market, and the executive and constitutional institutions based on popular support will become able to confront the pressures of the political and non-political remnants of the May regime.

Yes, the uprising is still in need of renewal. "Renewal of the uprising to realize its goals!" will remain the central slogan of the masses, until all the provisions of the charter of the uprising are carried out and the May regime's vestiges are fully liquidated and its remnants removed.

[Question] Along with the second anniversary of the uprising, the constitutional amendments have occupied public opinion a great deal. What is your evaluation of the form finally taken by these amendments?

[Answer] Ever since the government expressed its desire to make amendments in the constitution to allow it to liquidate vestiges of the May regime, we have announced a clear position stressing our standing beside the government in any measure taken toward complete liquidation of the vestiges of the May regime, such a liquidation being the only means to complete the tasks of implementing the programs of the uprising without impairing the fundamental constitutional principles that form the framework for general freedoms, basic individual rights, the sovereignty of the rule of law, and the inclusion of rulers and ruled under judicial surveillance. In all the suggestions that have been presented, the Ba'th Party has made a point of close examination and study; it therefore reflected its view of them with the logic of a desire to stimulate discussion and refute the proofs opposing the correct position, without being carried away by truthless exaggeration in opposition to the amendments. Other

political quarters have in this respect followed a demagogic style to achieve cheap political gains. Our opposition to the constitutional amendments, along with [that of] others, was therefore positive and productive in arriving at the amendments that have been passed.

The passage of the amendments in the form in which they were passed only confirms the correctness of the democratic option and the method of dialogue our people approved as a way of treating crises of national development in our country, inasmuch as the political and democratic forces undertook to express their viewpoint without shutting the doors to interaction.

Thus, we can say that the amendments approved by the Constituent Assembly last weekly fully absorbed most of the essential ideas and suggestions the party advocated in the face of government insistence on linking the question of liquidating the vestiges of the May regime with carrying out the amendments. [We can also say] that the amendments did not significantly infringe upon the principles whose concepts our people and its nationalistic and democratic forces struggled many long years to advance.

[Question] The party has committed itself to constructive opposition to the government. What are the horizons of this opposition? Has it resulted in rectifying and improving the situation? What power does such opposition have to influence the coalition?

[Answer] When the party put forth the slogan of "constructive opposition," or "positive opposition," as a method of expressing its viewpoint on government public policies and actions, it was expressing its fundamental stand in defense of the democratic option from the angle of its continuance and stability, both of which would be constantly exposed to danger if the opposition assumed an agitational and demagogic character devoid of political principle and resting on a basis of opposition for the sake of opposition or opposition for the purpose of a momentary short-term political goal, disregarding the general national interest, especially under the present circumstances of our country. We shall continue to be intent on holding to the path of positive opposition by criticizing and uncovering forms of political and economic deviation that departs from the program and goals of the popular uprising. We shall also support and back all executive programs that harmonize with the people's goals and legitimate aspirations consecrated in the charter of the uprising.

Among the most obvious results of our party's positive opposition has been the prominence of its detailed and precise viewpoint regarding the aspects of deficiency in the government statement, particularly the observations dealing with rejection of policies of subservience and of World Bank and IMB pressures. [These observations] formed a general current and common denominator in the programs of the trade-union movement and of various sectors of the movement of the masses. They were particularly prominent in the constitutional amendments, especially Article 100, dealing with legislative delegation of authority, where we proposed the idea of a time limit for the [Constituent] Assembly's approval or rejection of temporary legislation.

The elected government is being asked to bind itself strictly and scrupulously to the programs it announced before the Constituent Assembly and the people. If it departs from the path of the charters to which it has committed itself, it must be returned to that path by means of forms of democratic and objective struggle based on the unity of the forces of the uprising, in order to oblige the elected government to carry out the charters to which it announced its adherence: the charter of the uprising, the charter for the defense of democracy, and the decisions of the economic conference.

[Question] The party has expressed numerous observations about the government's performance in the past. What are the most important guidelines on which the party bases its evaluation of past and future government performance?

[Answer] You know that our party, which forms a powerful current in the heart of the popular movement, based on its political assets and struggle-related experience, is not represented in the Constituent Assembly. However, that has not caused it to adopt a method of political opposition that disturbs the continuance and stability of the democratic equilibrium—unlike certain forces that are represented in the Constituent Assembly and that take our opposition with an unobjective slant that leans toward agitation and momentary political gains. Based on our principled view of objective positive opposition, we have expressed numerous observations and criticisms concerning the various forms of obvious disparity between the government's actions and the charters and slogans of the uprising. As regards the fundamental basis that underlies the Ba'thist criterion and directs [the party's] movement in regard to the government's performance, it can be summed up in an essential, fixed, and fundamental point that cannot be abandoned or forsaken: the spirit, principles, and texts of the charter of the uprising, the charter for the defense of democracy, and the decisions of the economic conference. This is because these charters express to a great extent the slogans under whose banner the masses of our people and the organizations of our party continued to struggle throughout the years of the fascistic May regime.

[Question] Under the present government, nothing new has happened to the economic situation. What way do you see for rescuing the Sudanese economy from its present crisis?

[Answer] The crisis of the national economy is clear. The Ba'th Party has its assessment of this crisis—its causes and the way of getting out of it. If the transitional government failed in confronting this problem, as it failed in implementing most of the provisions of the program of the uprising, we can find no justification for the present government [to fail]. The reasons are as follows: First, there are the decisions of the national economic conference held in February 1986, which set forth clear ideas for a plan of economic rescue, ideas which were approved by all the forces of the uprising, including the two parties of the ruling coalition.

Second, the announced program of the government includes the basic guidelines approved by the economic conference. Third, the present government is an elected government which one can assume will respond to the demands of the

millions of the masses who brought it to power. Taken as a whole, these factors leave the present government no justification for its slowness in liquidating the vestiges of the May regime in the economic field and no justification for not setting out immediately to implement the program of economic rescue and reform. A full year later, however, we observe that the government has not taken any serious steps in this direction, if we exclude import rationalization policies and the combatting of smuggling. The reason is the hesitation of the two coalition parties and their fear of pressures by the parasitical capitalist classes at home, represented in the May bloc and the Union of Employers, together with their extensions within the two parties. There are also the pressures of the IMF and the World Bank. This hesitation and fear constitute an undeniable reality. The government has two options; there is no third: either submit to these pressures in the interest of a limited class of the society and in the interest of foreign capital and international organizations, or respond to the aspirations and interests of the masses of the Sudanese people. Before it lies the experience of Numayri, who sold the country to the foreigner and stole the people's food in return for trivial price that neither fattens nor appeases hunger.

In our assessment, the way out requires standing beside the people and implementing the program of the uprising, as represented in the decisions of the national economic conference. This [should be done] by beginning immediately to lower living costs, particularly such basic essential commodities as flour, sugar, gasoline, and medicine, and to liquidate parasitic activities. Foremost among the latter are the private commercial banks. One should make do with the government banks. A serious position on external indebtedness should be announced, repudiating any debts that were not invested for the good of the people and nation. The pressures of the IMF and World Bank should be opposed by a clear economic program that takes as its point of departure the welfare of the masses of the people and their national sovereignty and around which all of the forces of the uprising can rally. A law of popular retribution should be promulgated in order to prosecute those who caused the sabotaging of the national economy. There should be a "where-did-you-get-it?" law to recover the people's wealth that was plundered and to prosecute those who became rich by stealing public funds. This is the only way to liquidate the vestiges of the May regime in the economic field and rescue the national economy from the vicious circle in which it is now turning. Anything else is "plowing the sea."

[Question] How do you see the course of the conflict between the people's aspirations for doing away with the vestiges of the May regime and the powers hostile to these aspirations—remnants of the May regime and interests of the defunct regime?

[Answer] My conviction, and that of all Ba'thists, is that this struggle will be inevitably decided in favor of the people. This was the same conviction we had when "the liar and murderer" himself was the axis of these forces and powers hostile to the people's aspirations, i.e., during the lean years of the now defunct regime, when most forces despaired of the possibility of overthrowing the May regime on behalf of the people and therefore joined that bygone regime and were completely incorporated into it, irrevocably abandoning

positions of opposition, and becoming an inseparable part of the May regime. After the uprising, [these forces] became the real leadership of all the forces and powers hostile to the people's desire for a thorough liquidation of the vestiges of the May regime and the interests of a parasitical class that grew and thrived in the lap of the defunct regime.

The conviction of Ba'thists on this subject is linked to their absolute confidence in the consciousness of our great people and its latent powers and creative abilities. It is linked also to their deep consciousness that the movement of national struggle has always moved ahead. No matter if it occasionally stumbles, it is able to extract the lessons.

[12 Apr 87, pp 4, 5]

[Text] The following is the second part of the interview:

[Question] Ba'thists have continued to follow developments on our western borders for a long time. What is your opinion of the means that will guarantee the establishment of security there, and what are the prospects for our relations with the parties to the Libya-Chad conflict?

[Answer] Yes, Ba'thists have always followed events on our western, northern, and eastern borders with grave concern. How we hoped that the source of our apprehension concerning any portion of our borders would not be the government of any fraternal Arab country! We know that to the extent that we are able to set an example of respect for national sovereignty and mutual noninterference in internal affairs between us and any Arab country bordering our country, we shall be able to that extent to devote ourselves to confronting intentional or unintentional attempts to violate our national sovereignty and interfere in our internal affairs on other parts of our borders. That will also give us an opportunity to devote ourselves to remedying the heavy legacy and domestic worries we have inherited from the Numayri regime.

But what we hope is one thing, and what we confront from the present government of Libya is another. The establishment of security in the region adjacent to our western borders is closely connected, unfortunately, to the present Libyan regime's ceasing to violate our international borders and national sovereignty or regarding any of our territory as fair game when it thinks that will fulfill for it some tactical, political, or military need, either in its policy toward our country or in its military operations in Chad. It is not important now to analyze the peculiar nature of the present Libyan regime that makes it embark upon such dangerous and illegal actions without hesitation or self-restraint. What concerns us as we answer AL-HADAF's question is the fact that it is not in the interest of future Sudanese-Libyan relations, and, indeed, not in the interest of Qadhdhafi's regime itself, let alone the interest of our people and the entire Arab nation and African continent, for us to deal with such behavior on the part of the Libyan regime only with indulgence, obfuscation, or official contacts and measures not based on informing the people in advance and from the beginning of the plain facts, however painful they may be.

Only informing the people of these facts will lay the foundation for a clear popular position on the part of the Sudanese and Libyan peoples concerning this foolish and dangerous behavior, and that is the only thing that will form pressure and a true deterrent force to the Libyan regime, so that it does not repeat its international or impromptu offenses to the Sudanese people and therefore does not harm future relations between the two countries.

Whatever the rationalizations of the Libyan regime, they do not under any circumstances justify its ignoring the Sudan's independence, territorial inviolability, and national sovereignty, or the desire of its people and government for noninterference in the affairs of its fraternal neighbor, Chad, and for not allowing the Libyan or any other regime to take Sudanese territory as a staging point for interference in the affairs of the Chadian people, who have suffered two things: [They suffered] long years of imperialistic interference, and for a long time now they have unfortunately been suffering to the same extent from the interferences and interventions of the current Libyan regime, just as they suffered from the similar and equally stupid and capricious interferences and interventions of the Sudan during the time of Numayri.

Therefore, the most important means for guaranteeing the establishment of security in the regions adjacent to our western borders are:

1. Immediate evacuation of all forces that have penetrated our borders, whether they be from Libyan battalions or from the so-called Islamic Corps, which, whatever the nationality of its members, is subject to the general command of the Libyan armed forces.
2. Collection of the arms these forces distributed during their presence on our territory, whether randomly to the tribes, or to those they call "revolutionary committees," which they have formed in certain areas during their occupation of them.
3. Tightening surveillance along our borders by the Sudanese armed forces and seeking help from the traditional tribal and ethnic groups which historically have been connected by loyalty to the Sudan and are connected by good relations with leading men of the present government.
4. Putting the Sudanese people in possession of the complete facts since the beginning of infiltration across our borders by forces subject to the Libyan government. [They should be informed] of all the operations and activities these forces have undertaken to date and of the extent of the truth of the Libyan government's announced commitment to withdraw these forces, whether they be from the battalions of the Libyan army or from the Islamic Corps subject to the command of that regime.
5. Unequivocally affirming to the Libyan regime and the government of President Habre in N'Djamena, as well as to the Chadian national opposition led by Goukouni Oueddeye and the other factions, all of which agree on rejecting armed Libyan intervention in Chad—affirming to all of them that the

Sudanese government in the future will not allow any armed units from the two countries to penetrate our borders. The Arab League, OUA, and United Nations should be officially informed of this position.

In my estimation, these measures, together with national political movement among the tribal heads and citizens in these regions, making them aware of the official position and mobilizing them around their national duties in regard to any violation of this position by any party, will tend to greatly help the establishment of security there. Of course, this is in addition to continued work for the success of the excellent initiative announced by the prime minister and for which many official levels have begun to work. To be successful, this initiative, which accords with the Sudan's announced foreign policy and with the role our country ought to play, demands the utmost degree of precision, determination, and clarity in our position with regard to Libyan attempts at interference in Chad across our territory. This is because this initiative aims basically at ending the abnormal situation between the two countries, Libya and Chad, and at helping the fraternal country, Chad, extricate itself from the complicated situation that has made it the theatre for a civil war ignited by Western imperialistic interventions and fed from the side of the Libyan regime by particular attitudes, actions, and speculations whose consequence is to harm the national unity of Chad as well as Arab-African relations and which do not help bring to fruition or success the efforts of national reconciliation in Chad which along are capable of enabling this fraternal country to strengthen its national independence.

Libyan military intervention in Chad for many years has not led, nor will it lead at any time in the future, to anything but provoking foreign imperialistic intervention and delaying the extrication of Chad from Western influence.

I am confident of our people's ability, whenever we adhere to those principles and foundations, to work with the two sides of the conflict toward establishing good relations with both Libya and Chad, based on mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial inviolability and on joint cooperation based on free will, in order to realize mutual interests between the countries of the region, distance them from regional armed conflicts, and close the doors to plots to turn them into a field for the international struggle.

[Question] Since its establishment in the Sudan, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party has paid special attention to Sudanese-Egyptian relations. What point have matters reached, and what are the most conspicuous requirements for development of these relations?

[Answer] The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party views with deep satisfaction what has been accomplished in the last few months on the road to restoring Sudanese-Egyptian relations to their natural condition. Mr al-Sadiq al-Mahdi's visit to Egypt, with the results issuing from it, was one of the most important stages on this road until now. It has become known to all national party leaders in government and opposition and to broad sectors of the masses of our people, just as it was known to the leaders of the

transitional government, that the Ba'th Party has since the uprising and always been urging development of relations with Egypt. [We must] avoid confusing the historic relations between the two countries, which we must always struggle to move forward on correct popular and national scientific foundations, and the intentional sabotage practiced by Numayri in regard to these relations, just as he sabotaged many firm principles and slogans, even ones that were held sacred within the consciousness of our people. The Ba'th said this at the height of Numayri's tyranny, using the various methods of exposure and public mobilization possible under the police state. It also said it to our Egyptian brothers in the ruling party and national opposition on various occasions during and after the rule of Numayri. It said it with great clarity: Numayri was working intentionally to damage the historic relations between the two peoples by his extreme insistence on appearing to be the Egyptian commissioner in the Sudan and by imposing himself upon Egypt as the representative of the Sudan and Sudanese people. Thus, he made out people believe that his regime was under Egypt's protection. Of course, events have proved that the Egyptian people, as has always been its habit, respects the will of its brother people in the Sudan and wishes to see it in control of its own affairs, with a free will in its country. The Egyptian people know that this alone will guarantee the establishment of a regime in the Sudan that respects the truth of the historic relations between the two countries and does not impose itself as an additional burden on Egypt as concerns its security and preservation, thus harming these relations.

Of course, we do not ignore the fact that al-Sadat in his turn harmed the Sudanese people as much as he harmed the Egyptian people by his embracing of Numayri during his administration and by guaranteeing the security of his regime and his personal security in confrontation with the Sudanese people. However, we have also known from the beginning that al-Sadat and Numayri represented the type of ruler who wallows in the swamp of selling and mortgaging the country and stealing his people's bread for the benefit of the parasitical class he creates and the imperialistic circles whose interests he guards. From our position as Sudanese and Arabs, we said at that time that true loyalty to our historic relations with the Egyptian people demanded that we intensify the struggle to remove and overthrow Numayri, who had joined al-Sadat on the road to national and pan-Arab betrayal.

This position, which we took during the administration of Numayri himself, is based for Ba'thists on fundamental intellectual and political principles that have characterized the position of Ba'thists in regard to Sudanese-Egyptian relations since the establishment of the first cell of their party in 1960. The same position is what prevented them from participating in the extremist and excessive actions of certain political forces that tried to portray the glorious popular uprising of March-April 1985 against the May regime as necessitating a period of estrangement from Egypt or of caution toward rectifying relations between the two countries. [These forces did so] based on blind and automatic reaction against the subservience whose foundations had been laid during the time of Numayri and al-Sadat.

We affirmed to the various national forces that a clear, honest, and direct search for sound principles on which to base relations between the two

fraternal countries would be found to receive a response from officials in Egypt. This is because the basic flaw lay in the regime of Numayri, who was ready to neglect anything in his desperate attempts to break the collar of isolation the people had tied around the neck of his regime. [And we affirmed] that any regime in the Sudan that respected, trusted, and did not fear its people would find that Egypt would understand the mutual benefit to be gained from developing relations between the two countries on a basis of equality, vital joint interests, mutual respect for sovereignty and the national will, and cooperation on all matters agreed upon by the free will of the two peoples.

We are certainly happy about the signing of the charter of brotherhood between the two countries. Taking it as a point of departure, we shall struggle to develop Egyptian-Sudanese relations, strengthening the independence of the two countries, confirming the sovereignty of each of the two fraternal peoples, and opening the door to fruitful cooperation between them and with other Arab nationalist organizations, in order to confront the major challenges that stand in the way of our entire [Arab] nation and in order to create the best deterioration and to overcome the difficulties and many-sided restrictions imposed on the people of Egypt during the al-Sadat regime and on the people of the Sudan during the Numayri regime, so as to enable us together once again to resume the course upwards with the other Arab countries toward horizons of resurgence.

Together with our people, we have demanded the extradition of Numayri for a fair trial in the Sudan. But with equal force and insistence we have refused to make this cause a kind of authorization for Numayri to harm relations between the two countries, either to the same or a lesser or greater degree than he was able when he was at the summit of his tyranny, power, and ability to destroy.

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CULTURE & INFORMATION MINISTER EXAMINES POLITICAL SITUATION

Kuwait AL-WATAN in Arabic 16 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Muhammad Tawfiq Ahmad, Sudanese minister of culture and information, by Fathi al-Daw Muhammad: "Sudan Won Its Independence in 1986, Not in 1956"; Khartoum, date not given]

[Text] Muhammad Ahmad Tawfiq, minister of culture and information and official spokesman for the Sudanese government, is a man who stands as a witness to the history of modern Sudan. He has lived with this history since the beginnings of the formation of the nationalist movement before independence in the fifties, and he has watched the Sudan move through various regimes after independence. Muhammad Tawfiq is a born journalist. We therefore decided from the beginning to traverse an intellectual, cultural, and political journey with him, especially in view of the fact that shortly before ascending the pulpit of the Ministry of Culture and Information during the transitional period, he returned to practicing his hobby, writing in the press, which he has said is the closest thing to his heart, he having been the writer of a well-known column, "Embers."

Concerning the destruction that has befallen the Sudanese state, Muhammad Tawfiq said that it has passed the bounds of imagination and that the present government is doing everything in its power to contain all the crises.

Explaining the long duration of the previous regime, which lasted 16 years, Tawfiq said that the educated people were a basic cause of this, since they were deceived by the hollow slogans uttered by Numayri at the beginning of the years of his administration. He mentioned that what the Sudanese now want is "putting the facts into the hands of the masses" and speaking to them with complete frankness about the true situation; this, as he puts it, is a guarantee "that they will tighten their belts again and again."

Tawfiq charged the previous transitional government with [responsibility for] all the pending questions that have still not been decided, such as the September Islamic laws.

He called for caution and vigilance against the lurking "May forces" that want to destroy the will of the Sudanese people. The following is the text of the interview:

Sudanese Independence Was in 1986

[Question] We believe Sudanese information agencies have not succeeded in presenting the Sudan's cultural change after the uprising. This is demonstrated by the fact that some people still assert that what happened in the Sudan was nothing but a military coup. Another indication occurred when the American magazine NEWSWEEK passed up the Sudan in its yearly choice of what is called "the man of the year" for 1986. This and the insignificance of [the Sudan] can be attributed to a lack of information. How are you correcting this now?

[Answer] This government came in the middle of May 1986. The preparation in this matter ought to have been made by the transitional government. We were not able to go back. But ask me, for example, "What did you do in the year 1987?" and I will say frankly and clearly that we did little. There is a proverb that goes: A good spinner can spin well even with the donkey's leg" [nothing is too difficult for a skillful person]. But even this "leg" cannot be found. The damage to culture and the information agencies was great. I believed any comprehensive democratic government would rely on the information media, but I was wrong, since I found even the information media in ruins. I was overcome with surprise and amazement. Therefore, from the beginning I formed a committee headed by Dr Bashir al-Bakri, with the heads of the departments and some persons from outside the ministry, to formulate a new concept for the ministry in a democratic period. I said to this committee that it ought to consider the Sudan to have won its independence at the beginning of 1986, not at the beginning of 1956 as people think. This committee has in fact presented its report, which is being carefully examined for submission in capsule form to the cabinet. Brevity is required and necessary, lest we become exhausted by long-winded talk.

[Question] You were a contemporary of the nationalist struggle before independence and of the various kinds of government with which the Sudan was afflicted, varying from outright dictatorship to democracy buried alive. How do you evaluate the situation, now that the people have handed you the reins of power?

[Answer] I was indeed fortunate to be contemporary with the period in which the nationalist movement began in the Graduates' Conference. At that time, I had finished Gordon Memorial College, which was as far as we could go at that time. When the political parties were established, I joined the Ashiqqa' Fraternal Party, which amalgamated with National Unionist to [form] the gathering of unionists which formed the first government that achieved independence. It was a cause of amazement to people that the party that advocated unity of the Nile Valley was the one that achieved independence.

Unfortunately, after independence we lacked a well thought-out program, and so we did nothing. The struggle between political parties therefore turned into one of personalities, not of ideas. The party leaders became disgruntled because they were unprepared for such freedom, and the members of the people became disgruntled at the way they were handling the problem. There was a

kind of anarchy, and this mixture caused a certain amount of lack of discipline among a people known for order and discipline. This was what confronted the first government, as well as the second democratic government, neither of which lasted long. I think that if that democratic government had been left to continue until now, we would have arrived at a very advanced state. Then came the 16-year period that resulted in the state of ruin in which we are now living. Nevertheless, I can say that democracy has never failed in the Sudan. I hope neither we nor the opposition become disgruntled, so that we do not give an opportunity to another adventurer. There is no better choice than this for human development and progress.

[Question] Democratic development assumes that your ministry is in a race with time to firmly establish this conviction in the mind of the people. How are you undertaking such a task in a far-flung country with many languages, diverse cultures, and differing religions?

[Answer] This is a very difficult question. In brief, this is our mission amidst the contradictions of this country. We are thinking about the best method that would allow these cultures to crystallize into a culture called "Sudanese culture," while these entities preserve their culture. It is a problem requiring that other sectors be brought in as partners with the Ministry of Culture: the universities, the Ministry of Education, the intellectuals, and the man in the street, who is often wise. The vessel that holds all these people is the vessel of free expression, without the exertion of any pressure or suppression, in order to guarantee continued dedication. The problem I am now living with in the area you mentioned is the television, which reflects only a limited reality in the central part of the Sudan. It is as if this entire country were concentrated in this part of it. Thus, you find the people of Khartoum completely ignorant of the cultures and customs of the other regions.

The Afro-Arab bridge that is a mark of the Sudan has created for the Sudan a special character with a very individual, distinctive flavor. You will find it unlike that of any other people. It is very difficult to feel it, sense it, or see it unless you have the opportunity for really and actively living with it. If you wanted to categorize it, in the end you would have to label it only "Sudanese."

Material Resources

[Question] Material resources--we believe this "peg" can no longer bear more weight. There is a situation imposed by fate, as you know very well. This situation has made the Sudanese people in a hurry for solutions. On this basis, what have you prepared to reconcile limited resources and rising expectations?

[Answer] Yes, resources are limited. This is a fact. Indeed, they are much less than that. We turned to the outside world for help in getting out of the crisis, but we found difficulty in this, because confidence had become nonexistent. An Arab leader told me, "The money with which we aided the Sudan during the Numeiry administration could have made a bridge over the Red Sea

between the Arab east and the Sudan." Therefore, our first concern was to restore confidence between us and the world. We have been successful in this because credibility has been our practice. The second thing is that the situation has been reversed: perhaps you will not believe it, but the Sudan, which was suffering from drought and famine, is now complaining of a large surplus of grain and [lack of] a way to export it.

The problems from which people were suffering have been greatly mitigated. I say that the government has done something. I do not claim it has done everything.

[Question] It is a fact that the acute situation that affected the Sudan spurred concern to remedy that danger. However, we believe this effort made some people imagine that the goal of the Sudanese people was food and drink. How do you see priorities, particularly now that the goal of democracy has been realized?

[Answer] The bitter reality now is that 50 percent of the Sudan's budget depends on loans and foreign aid. But what I really sense in the Sudanese street is not what they say--that the current goal is food and drink.

What the ordinary Sudanese really wants now is to be in possession of the facts, without any kinds of distortion. When he really understands them, he does not hesitate to tighten his belt again and again.

The matter depends on credibility. The public must be put in possession of the facts.

[Question] In light of the democratic system, the Islamic opposition has obtained this "honor." Considering its behavior, do you think it deserves it?

[Answer] First, these men are engaged in politics! As for the question of religion--we're all religious! The [Islamic] Front previously joined the settlement proposed by Numayri, and others with them, and they are the ones who after a few years distinguished a white thread from a black one. [In Islamic law, this is the sign of daybreak.--translator] At that time, the thinking of the front was concentrated on seizing that historic opportunity. It therefore strove to strengthen itself financially. Besides, their thinking at that time was to join the May apparatus--in order to destroy it, as they used to say. They were its partner in everything, with the goal of having power pass into their hands some day. Their position was therefore difficult for them after the uprising. This is the truth about the conflict. Now, I do not believe the front will refuse any request to participate in governing. That, at least, qualifies them to keep the ground they have gained.

[Question] And from the standpoint of behavior and performance in the Constituent Assembly?

[Answer] The truth is that the members of the National Front are annoyed. I believe the question contradicts their thinking that believes is an Islamic

state. It is very certain that a multi-party system does not appeal to them at all, unless they are allowed to name it "the third democratic state"!

The Sudanese Democratic Option

[Question] As you know, democracy is a political-intellectual school with many movements and concepts. The question that comes to mind is, What democracy do the Sudanese want?

[Answer] First, I am by my nature a liberal; I do not hide that at all. I believe liberal democracy is one which makes it possible for everyone with an opinion to express it. I believe in dialogue, and I say that liberal democracy is the best form of government suited to the Sudan. The Sudanese, as you know, are a people who are not very inclined to violence.

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NIF SECRETARY OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS DISCUSSES DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 21 Apr 87 pp 22-24

[Interview with Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, National Islamic Front secretary of political affairs: "Ethiopia Is Trading Off the Southern Problem for the Eritrea Problem"; name of interviewer, date, and place not given]

[Text] The problem of the Sudanese South constituted and still constitutes a card that the international powers are exploiting to put pressure on the Sudan. So that the reader can understand the nature of the problem of the South, the manner in which it arose, and the latest developments in this area, we have decided to host on our pages Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, who is currently in charge of the secretariat for political affairs in the National Islamic Front [NIF] in the Sudan, and who was in charge of the secretariat for Southern affairs at the time the NIF was founded.

[Question] Can you explain to us briefly the problem of the Sudanese South? How did it begin?

[Answer] Historically, the problem of the South began after the entry of colonialism into the Sudan. At that time, the predominant religion in the South was Islam, but colonialism played a malicious role, involving:

1. The opening of missionary schools in the South, which resulted in the Christianization of large numbers of Muslims and pagans.
2. In 1927, the colonial government promulgated a law called the Closed Areas Act, which aimed at isolating the North from the South, since, by virtue of this law, the Northerner was prohibited from going to the South and the Southerner from going to the North!
3. Working to erase Islamic feeling from the South: It was forbidden to speak Arabic. English was made the official language. Also forbidden were the wearing of the turban (a sign of Muslims), the call to prayer, and public prayer, and there were other laws as well, designed to hide the image of Islam.

4. Muslim traders were prohibited from carrying on trade, while the door was opened for Greek and Italian Christians to go to the South and trade there in place of the Muslims.

As a result of what I have mentioned, the Southern problem began and in time developed into the form it now has.

[Question] What is the NIF's idea for a solution of the Southern problem?

[Answer] The NIF's thinking can be expressed in three directions:

1. Restoring North-South relations to their original nature through direct contact at all levels. When the NIF was founded after the recent uprising, it opened its doors fully to Northerners and Southerners, which is the significance of its being named "national."

2. Opening the doors for dialogue with non-Muslims in the South, as individuals, political parties, and groups, in order to clarify the Islamic system and the political and civil rights of non-Muslims under an Islamic state and to make it clear that giving the Muslim majority its right to legislate does not mean destroying the rights of non-Muslims or that they are second-class citizens.

3. We have proposed a full and comprehensive concept of how to redevelop the South in a way that will remove fraud and injustice and realize proportion and balance in development. The committee—to God belong the merit and the grace!—had precedence in formulating a proposal which we have named "the Sudan Charter." This deals in detail with the problem of the South and other regions from the viewpoint of cultural affiliation, religious attitude, distribution of power and wealth, as well as from the viewpoint of laws that govern Muslims and others.

[Question] What are the demands of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement led by John Garang?

[Answer] In March 1986, Garang's movement signed a joint communique with the Political Grouping for the Salvation of the Country, known as the Kokodam Agreement in reference to the area in Ethiopia where the meeting was held. The salient points of this declaration were:

1. Repeal of the laws applying Islamic law—the so-called September Laws.

2. Lifting the state of emergency.

3. Cancellation of the joint defense agreements between Egypt and the Sudan and Libya and the Sudan.

4. Dissolving the present government and Constituent Assembly and calling for new elections, with the formation of a transitional government in which Garang's movement is to be represented!

[Question] What are your objections to the Kokodam declaration?

[Answer] First, the declaration did not include all political forces active in the Sudan. The NIF was not invited and did not attend, and the Democratic Unionist Party, though invited, was absent from the meeting.

Second, the declaration talks about preconditions for the holding of the proposed constitutional convention, which is to include all political sides in the Sudan. We, in general, reject the principle of preconditions. The essential thing is for all conflicting sides to meet for discussion and mutual understanding. Afterwards, agreement will or will not take place. In any event, the declaration lost its value and importance after the Ummah Party's reservations about some of its points!

[Question] How did the Ummah Party, which was among the parties who signed the declaration, have reservations?

[Answer] When we met representatives of Garang's movement in October 1987 in Addis Ababa, they informed us that al-Sadiq al-Madhi had notified them that the two people who had signed the Kokodam declaration—Idris al-Banna and Dr Jumad 'Umar Bijadi—had not been authorized to sign for the party. Thus, the Ummah Party turned out not to be committed to what was arrived at in the declaration.

[Question] What are the reasons prompting Garang to be so firm about his conditions? Is there anyone supporting his position?

[Answer] It is well known that the Ethiopian regime is fully supporting Garang's movement at all levels. Since the Ethiopian regime is faced with the problem of Muslims in Eritrea, many of whom have been given refuge by the Sudan, the Ethiopian regime is trying to trade off the Southern problem for the Eritrean problems. Therefore, Garang's decision about any solution to the Southern problem depends on approval by the Ethiopian authorities.

[Question] Can Ethiopia's support for Garang and his helpers be traced to the fact that he is a communist?

[Answer] Garang is not, to my mind, a communist in the strict sense of the word. His choice of communism was a tactic aimed at pleasing the Ethiopian regime, which explains American and international church support for him.

[Question] That being the case, why are the Sudanese Communist party and the other Arab communist supporting Garang?

[Answer] I believe it is also tactical support! So that the Sudanese Communist Party could be confident about the active presence of communist thought within Garang's movement, they assigned Dr L. Ukul, a former Khartoum University professor, to join the movement, with the aim of circumscribing Garang and implementing the communist line in the movement. Ever since L. Ukul entered the movement, disputes have been breaking out between the Marxist current and the other current.

[Question] How deep is the dispute within Garang's movement?

[Answer] The disputes revolve around more than one axis within the movement:

1. The ideological axis: As I mentioned before, this is led by L. Ukul, who advocates adherence to the Marxist-Leninist path.
2. The tribal axis: Garang belongs to the Dinka tribe in the South of the Sudan. The disputes are most severe between his tribe and the other Nilotic tribes, such as the Shilluk and the Nuer.
3. The axis of those who advocate ending the war on the grounds that Nymayri's regime has fallen and that ground for discussion and mutual understanding has come to exist under the current democratic regime.

[Question] We have learned that a discussion took place between NIF representatives and Garang's movement. What was the background of the discussion?

[Answer] The first discussion took place in July 1986 in London. Attending it for the NIF were General Secretary Dr Hasan al-Turabi and the head of the NIF in London. The second discussion took place in Addis Ababa last October. I attended it personally, along with Brother al-Nur Zarruq, as representatives of the NIF.

[Question] Did the NIF make gains in this discussion?

[Answer] The first meetings were limited to clarifying positions and policies on each side. We clarified to the representatives of Garang's movement our goals in the NIF and our positions on all current issues, including the problem of the South and our idea for a solution to it.

[Question] Will there be other rounds of discussion?

[Answer] After we proposed the draft of a "Charter for the Sudan" in January of this year, we sent a copy of it to Garang's movement. Agreement is expected shortly on a date to discuss with them the provisions of the charter and their comments on it.

[Question] How true are the rumors about Garang's having been killed?

[Answer] Rumors that Garang has been killed are not true. According to our information, he is still alive, but God only knows.

[AL-MUJTAMA'] My God reward you well! We pray God to grant you success in your efforts. Until we meet again, God willing, peace be with you and God's mercy and blessings!

[Box, p. 24]

- Dr 'Ali al-Hajj Muhammad, born 1939 in Nyala, South Darfur Province.
- Bachelor of Medicine, Khartoum University, 1966.
- Fellow of the College of Gynecologists and Obstetricians, London.
- Was a member of the Executive Committee of the Khartoum University Students' Union for five successive terms.
- Former member of the executive leadership of the Islamic Charter Front.
- Currently a member of executive leadership of the National Islamic Front, where he heads the political bureau.
- Member on the board of trustees of the Islamic Call Organization.

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AL-USBU' STAFF DISCUSS PAPER'S HISTORY, PROGRESS

Khartoum AL-USBU' in Arabic 14 Apr 87 pp 4, 5

[Interview with Dr Sulayman 'Uthman, general manager of AL-USBU', Muhyi-al-Din Titawi, editor-in-chief, and Ahmad al-Ballal al-Tayyib: "AL-USBU' Is the Only Newspaper Owned by Media Professionals"; Khartoum, name of interviewer and date not given]

[Text] These are memories of pain, suffering, and experiences that were endured by this newspaper and its founders. It has been necessary to record them for history so that they would not be subjected to falsification and so that they might remain a source to which the generations can refer whenever they want to meditate on their past and others' experiences in order to profit from it in their present and future.

The story of journalists and a newspaper that these memories represent is not one we are trying to talk about or glorify. That is something for the reader alone to do. These are merely facts we are eager to put into his possession. We content ourselves with the proverb that comes down upon us like refreshment and peace: "May God have mercy on the man who knows his own measure."

First, Dr Sulayman 'Uthman, the general manager, talks to us about the reasons that moved him to join AL-USBU'.

[Dr Sulayman 'Uthman] I think the first motive that caused me to join AL-USBU' as a founder was that it was the first newspaper that since its founding has been owned by media professionals. Professor Muhyi-al-Din Titawi, the originator of the idea and the project, has been an expert in the field of journalistic work for more than 15 years. In an official report evaluating workers in the newspaper AL-AYYAM, reference was made to the fact that he was the senior journalist. The specialist with an academic degree and the second man in the management of AL-USBU', Professor al-Ballal, is known to readers and viewers for his communication ability and practical experience. My connection to information work from the standpoint of my academic specialization--I have a degree in newspaper editing and taught the subject for more than 6 years in Arab universities--made my joining a newspaper based on ownership and management by specialized professionals a contribution to an information service that is helping develop and advance information performance after a period of collapse that lasted 16 years.

[Question] Are you satisfied with how AL-USBU' is going?

[Answer] I would say that I am happy with the success AL-USBU' has achieved thus far. However, being satisfied with AL-USBU' is connected with fully realizing the aspirations I conceive for the newspaper, and this is something that requires much effort and many resources, as well as time.

From the standpoint of content, we want AL-USBU' to offer a news service marked by objectivity and precedence. We have succeeded to a great extent in offering an objective service; however, the constant achievement of precedence requires resources not yet available to us in sufficient measure. The other aspect of content is the presentation of correct opinion and the information that helps form correct opinion. This is achieved by opening the newspaper's pages to those who hold a multiplicity of views and a variety of opinions, so as to help the reader know the truth. What the newspaper has thus far offered in this area can be judged by the reader, though the reader's judgment in our favor has become evident to us from the rise in the newspaper's circulation.

From the standpoint of technical form, the distinctive characteristic of AL-USBU' is, as I previously mentioned, that it is owned by people with professional experience. This imposes on AL-USBU' the obligation to be an outstanding technical school in the midst of the Sudanese newspapers. In this area, we are confronted by the problem of lack of technical cadres to help. AL-USBU' is trying to compensate by attracting some people with experience and training cadres from qualified young people.

A Mission for Colleagues Who Work in Journalism

First, I think colleagues working in the field of journalism generally are aware of their responsibility in forming public opinion under a democratic system that guarantees basic freedoms and constitutional rights. The first of these responsibilities is preserving the democratic system itself. If one wanted journalists to have a slogan during this period, I think the appropriate slogan would be, "Disagreement does not impair friendship." Preserving friendship among journalists means concern for objectivity and accuracy and a feeling of national obligation.

[Interviewer] Editor-in-Chief Muhyi-al-Din Titawi is the originator of the idea for AL-USBU'. We therefore had this meeting with him so that he could throw light on that important period in the newspaper's life.

[Professor Titawi] The idea for publishing AL-USBU' began in 1983, when individuals and groups were allowed to publish cultural and sports newspapers. A number of colleagues--among them I would mention Mirghani Abu-Shanab and Mustafa Abu-al-'Aza'im--shared in implementing the idea, continuing the initial stage of filling out forms, following them up, and choosing the name. Six months later, we obtained approval to publish as a sports-cultural-artistic newspaper. I was the holder of the concession.

Because of my work at AL-AYYAM at that time, it was not possible for me to publish a newspaper. I therefore thought of taking a high position in the

central organization--as public relations director. I was sure I would get the position because of my qualifications and experience. It would have put me in a comfortable material position enabling me to publish AL-USBU'. The final interview was to be on 1 March 1985. Before the results came out, however, the uprising took place, and I was suspended from work on the advice of political authorities which I do not want to go into at this time. Afterwards, I published AL-USBU' as a sports newspaper, while awaiting approval for individuals to publish political newspapers. After publishing five issues, it became clear to me that publishing a newspaper required human and material resources not within my power, so I decided to stop, with the intention of publishing again after obtaining permission from the Journalism and Publications Council to publish it as a political newspaper.

Al-Ballal Was the Closest of Them to Me

My friend, Ahmad al-Ballal al-Tayyib, was the colleague closest to me. He was enthusiastic about publishing the newspaper, so we formed a company, with the addition of Dr Sulayman 'Uthman, Mr 'Awadallah 'Abbas, and my brother, Fath-al-Rahman Ahmad Idris, who was the most enthusiastic of us all about the idea and who paid both his and my share in the capital of the company. On 1 April 1986, we began preparation to issue AL-USBU' as an independent political weekly. The first editor to join AL-USBU' was my colleague Salah Ahmudi. There was also Mustafa Yusuf, and, of course, brother Mirghani Abu-Shanab. Brother Muhammad Mahjub took charge of operations of the secretariat--he is now in the sports department at AL-SIYASAH. Professor Muhammad Yusuf Musa was editor of the arts page. Dr 'Awad Ahmad Idris wrote articles on Islamic and secular law. There were a number of advisers in the public prosecutor's office, among them Dr Salah Ma'ruf and Dr Yasin 'Umar Yusuf. The sketches of the artist Muhyi-al-Din al-Rih also contributed to the success of AL-USBU'.

[Question] How did the publication of AL-USBU' as a daily take place?

[Answer] We were studying and planning to publish as a daily. We had applied to the Journalism and Publications Council for approval, waiting for an opportunity to come for implementing this. Events, however, were moving quickly. The editors of AL-AYYAM and AL-SAHAFAH began their notorious strike, and a government resolution was issued halting publication of the two newspapers. So that there would be no gap, we decided in a single day to publish as a daily. Despite the fact that such a decision requires days and months, we bore the responsibility and decided to publish every day.

This decision demanded of us many times more effort, sleepless nights, application, and insistence on the form and policy of the newspaper that we had defined from the first issue. In addition, there was the huge material expense, which so exhausted the pockets of the partners that it induced some of us to sell some of our property and savings.

[Question] Is what is rumored about the [Islamic] Front's funding you true?

[Answer] From its first issue until its entering into its second year, this newspaper has relied on God and on the efforts of those who work in it;

secondly, on the contributions of our critical readers who know how to discriminate between publications; and thirdly, on the funds of the six partners who risked all their savings on this enterprise. They are: myself (my share was paid for me), Colleague Ahmad al-Ballal, Dr Sulayman 'Uthman, Fath-al-Rahman Ahmad Idris, 'Awadallah 'Abbas, and Mahmud Juha. They paid equal shares, so that none of them would have predominance over the others. As for the charge some people are spreading that this newspaper succeeded only because it is supported by the [Islamic] Front, it is a false charge with no basis in truth. We have spoken a great deal about this and do not wish to elaborate. Our accounts, from the first millieme on the newspaper's books down to the last check we paid to the state presses that print the newspaper, are available for review by anyone who wants to.

Success comes from God, from the sound appreciation and critical choice of the reader who knows where to find what he seeks, and from the effort of loyal and sincere workers. The mark of people who fail is that they try to explain away their failure and isolation from the problems of the masses by alluding to the successes of others and by making false accusations.

[Question] Is there anything new in AL-USBU'?

[Answer] We have many projects we have not made public, lest they be stolen in this time when people lay wait for one another. However, in the framework of the newspaper, we have decided on a change of usage, so as to keep pace with modern technology in the fields of collection, production, and design. Beginning with our second year, the reader will encounter a new format, particularly after we improve the first and last pages. Also, the reader has noticed that a number of eminent journalists have joined the editorial family of AL-USBU'. We will continue to improve and innovate in the editorial areas until the newspaper becomes an expression of every pulse-beat, every feeling, every pain, and every smile in "the land of a thousand miles," and until it becomes an ambassador and the epitome of the independent press. Our efforts will continue, and our services to our readers and citizens will go on as long as we remain alive, based on true nationalism and journalistic activity linked to our values, ethics, and heritage. AL-USBU' will be a journalistic school that graduates generations of journalists who hold fast to the charters and ethics of journalistic work, who are armed with science and knowledge, and who hold fast to truth and duty.

[Interviewer] It was with difficulty and trouble that we were able to draw Professor Ahmad al-Ballal al-Tayyib away from the midst of his endless concerns so that he could recount to us some of the efforts and difficult moments encountered by AL-USBU' in its first days. What was the effort like?

[Answer] It was during the period of the forced closure of AL-AYYAM, after the uprising, and after accusations were heaped upon us to such an extent that the chairman of the committee to investigate financial and administrative corruption in the Ministry of Culture and Information told me he believed I was one of the big millionaires--he didn't know that I was only a "millimeter man." But I don't want to embark upon this subject. I just wanted to point out that these circumstances and difficulties brought me together with my

colleague Titawi in the knowledge that we had been friends for as long as we had worked together at AL-AYYAM. While we were trying to solve these equations in which we found ourselves, we began to think of the future, fully convinced of our complete innocence, and we began to discuss publishing a newspaper. From the beginning, and even after I received a letter to return to AL-AYYAM after being absolved of guilt, I was completely convinced that I would not return to AL-AYYAM. At the proper time, I communicated this to Professor Mahjub Muhammad Salih. Brother Titawi had already begun to publish the newspaper on a small scale as a sports paper. I knew he had approval before the uprising. Actually, I did not take the matter seriously at first and therefore did not become his partner in publishing the newspaper in its sports format.

After he had published about five issues and after evaluating the experiment, I spoke with him about its being necessary for us to support one another to publish a weekly political newspaper. He had obtained approval at that time to turn the newspaper into a political one. We began a difficult journey, during which we shared one table and one chair and divided among ourselves the pennies we had in our pockets. We started to make contacts to bring in some people in whom we had confidence, people with resources, to share with us in the task. You might not believe it if I told you that we started with only about 25,000 Sudanese pounds, with each one of us paying only about 5,000 pounds.

The experiment began modestly. In fact, the greatest challenge before us was to establish the newspaper's existence.

We began with only about 10,000 copies, and sometimes the number of returns reached 4,000. My friend Titawi was less patient, to the extent that he used to be surprised by the number of copies returned [unsold], notwithstanding his long experience in the field. Actually, I always thought of myself as a person in a hurry, but I nevertheless surpassed my friend Titawi, who is known for his patience and calm. I saw the future shining before us.

Dr Sulayman 'Uthman

After we had published a number of issues--and here I have to stop to pay tribute to our dear colleagues who work at the presses of Al-Ayyam Publishing House for their firm stance on our behalf and their constant encouragement; Colleague Titawi mentioned that one of them whispered in his ear, "Your newspaper is better than ours"--

One day, a dignified man I had never met before visited us. Since I was in a hurry with my work, we made an appointment for the next day. He told me he had a firm wish to join us and that he had a doctorate in newspaper editing. He said he wanted to take a private job in the journalistic and information field, and that he thought this project would succeed, based on his having followed AL-USBU'. This opinion really gave us a strong impetus. The man was none other than Dr Sulayman 'Uthman. From the first moment I met him, I recognized in him the qualities of self-possession, quietness, and humility. How humble learned men can be!

The outset began with sweat, tears, sleepless nights, and obstacles. Sometimes it was "AL-USBU' is the paper of mosque caretakers." Sometimes it was "So-and-so is funding it." Sometimes it was "the front's newspaper!"--and so forth. They were talking about [our] being funded, while we were being kept sleepless by trouble and by keeping after the distributing house so that the newspaper could continue to be printed!

'Awadallah and Fath-al-Rahman

I want to stop here to pay tribute to our partner Mr 'Awadallah 'Abbas, who blessed [our enterprise] and agreed to become our partner, turning over to us his private office in the old Abu-al'Ala' Building, with its telephone and furniture. The newspaper was published from that little office before it moved to its present offices.

I also want to mention the unbounded support of Brother Fath-al-Rahman Titawi, his understanding for the idea, and his unlimited contribution to it of his money, effort, and thought.

Afterwards, I got in touch with Brother Mahmud Juha, on the basis of prior acquaintance, and he agreed to come in with us as a partner.

Turning the Newspaper Into a Daily

The story of the newspaper's conversion into a daily resembles a miracle, inasmuch as the decision was made and implemented the moment AL-AYYAM and AL-SAHAFAH were suspended. At that time, we had no resources, other than our determination, the efforts of the young people who worked with us, and the understanding and help of those who work at Al-Ayyam Printing and Publishing House. I hope that on the first anniversary of publication as a daily we will devote a large space to retelling the details of this epic battle. It is enough for me to indicate that we began with about 25,000 copies, with [unsold] returns reaching 20 percent initially, but then declining to zero.

[Question] How many workers did you have when the newspaper was born, and how many are there now?

[Answer] You might not believe it if I said to you that only Titawi and I began the job. It is necessary to stop here to thank and pay tribute to Professor Muhammad al-Khalifah Taha al-Rifi, who responded to my appeal to edit the last page as soon as I contacted him and handed me the material for the page on the following day. And there is Professor Mirghani Abu-Shanab, who enlivened the sports page. He worked with us, responding to the appeal, without demanding a millieme from us or asking us about the job. More than that, he resolutely resisted all attempts to dissuade him from working with us, saying that during the previous regime Ahmad al-Ballal and Titawi had taken stands with him that he would not forget and that we had stood by him when many had distanced themselves. And there is Professor Muhammad Yusuf Musa, who stood by us with his efforts and office, and who took charge of editing the arts page with distinction and ability. I must also mention with thanks and esteem the exceptional efforts and great dedication given to us by Professor Muhyi-al-Din al-Rih in the area of design.

The first person who worked with us was a militant young man, a recent graduate in the information field from Cairo, our colleague Mustaf Yusuf. He was followed by the esteemed cooperation and self-denying sacrifice of our colleague Salah Ahmudi. This was the beginning; today AL-USBU' has a large number of colleagues. We do not want to mention them for fear of making people envious!

I hope all those who gave their sweat but whose names I have omitted will forgive me. How many unknown soldiers there are in this area! At their head stands the great journalist and caricaturist, Salah 'Aba-Yazid, may God bestow on him the grace of healing!

[Question] What are your hopes for AL-USBU'?

[Answer] I hope that Al-Ussbu' Publishing House will acquire its own presses and that the newspaper will be distributed in the various parts of the world-- it has already reached Saudi Arabia and Egypt and is now on its way to the Gulf. I hope it will become a school of modern journalism, one whose capital is the honor of the profession and whose point of departure is the word of truth, wherever, however, and whenever it may be.

12937/13046

CSO: 4504/225

BRIEFS

EMBASSIES TO REOPEN--Khartoum, May 6 (SUNA)--Sudan has agreed to reopen its embassy in Greece. Preparations are underway to reopen the embassies in Turkey and Bulgaria, the daily AL-AYYAM reported here today. The May regime of deposed President Numayri has closed 22 Sudanese embassies in various countries. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 1035 GMT 6 May 87 JN] /8309

EEC AID--Khartoum, 5 May (SUNA)--An EEC delegation currently on a visit here has agreed to finance the rehabilitation of the Al-Suki agricultural project "Central Sudan" and improvement of railway road linking Kusti and Babanusah towns in the context of Lome third convention. The delegation also agreed to allocate a sum of 3 million of ECU [European Currency Unit] for the national training program, 15.8 million ECUS for rural development projects in Darfur Region "Western Sudan," and 12.2 million ECUS for a rural development program in Nuba Mountains "Kordofan Region." [Excerpt] [Khartoum SUNA in English 1030 GMT 5 May 87 JN] /8309

COOPERATION WITH INDIA--Khartoum, Apr 23 (SUNA)--Sudan and India signed here Wednesday an executive programme for cultural and scientific cooperation for the years 1987-89. The programme covers mutual exchanges in the fields of higher education, culture, social welfare, youth and sport activities according to a press release by Indian Embassy. Foreign Ministry Under-secretary Faruq 'Abd al-Rahman signed for Sudan while India's ambassador to Khartoum signed for his country. [Text] [Khartoum SUNA in English 1005 GMT 23 Apr 87 JN] /8309

SPLA SHELLS GOVERNMENT TROOPS--SPLA forces of Shark Battalion under direct command of Captain Albino Ater and under overall command of Lieutenant Colonel Bona Bang Dhol, the zonal commander of lakes, carried out an extensive shelling and raid on the enemy positions inside Tonj and at the bridge close to Tonj technical school on 27th April 1987. According to our correspondent with Shark Battalion, the enemy suffered heavy casualties in men and widespread damage in materiel. [Excerpt] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 4 May 87] /8309

FASHODA BATTALION RAIDS MALAKAL FUEL DEPOT--Details of the recent raids into Malakal's fuel depot by SPLA forces of Fashoda Battalion under command of Captain Oyai Deng Ajok have emerged. According to our correspondent in Malakal, two huge tanks of fuel were seriously damaged after being hit by six RPG shells. Some oil pipelines were destroyed; two buildings housing the enemy's motor units were demolished. Six enemy soldiers were killed and several others wounded. [Text] [(Clandestine) Radio of the Sudanese People's Liberation Army in English 1300 GMT 1 May 87] /8309

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS OF DAR'A PROVINCE DISCUSSED

Damascus AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 26 Apr 87 p 7

[Article by 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Miqdad: "The Economical Railroad: Is It Helping to Solve the Transportation Problem in Dar'a Province?"]

[Text] We have often wondered why the transportation crisis in Dar'a Province has become worse. There were many answers, but they were not convincing. Most of them were contradictory. The reason, of course, is the lack of one specific authority that oversees transportation activity in the province and that is authorized to make the necessary decisions and instructions to the people who own the means of transportation. We do not believe that the problem is the lack of enough cars in the province. Rather, it is the lack of coordination and the widespread confusion. This province is notable for the existence of railroad lines that serve most of its regions and villages, but they are out of commission and unused. There are a great deal of problems that restrict movement in the province and make the citizens wonder and ask questions. Where is the cause of the problem? In the Transportation Administration? In the Traffic Department? In the drivers' union? In the local administrative councils? Or in the Public Agency of the al-Hijazi Railroad?

In our opinion, the problem will not be solved by our defining the responsible agency, because this question requires cooperation and coordination among all the agencies. And among them and their employees as well. There is not one person responsible for the creation of the problem and another responsible for solving it. There is a group of natural and legal persons who cooperate for the sake of the best solution that will achieve the desired end and ensure the necessary services.

Given this proposition, we went to Dar'a Province, hoping to help the relevant authorities find a solution to the transportation crisis that afflicts citizens are and, at the same time, make their voices [illegible] by the relevant authorities, so that perhaps they would help them and fulfill their demands.

Where is the Train Located Now?

Let us begin with the railroad, then move to the other means of transportation that are more for common use in the world, since they are safer and more economical. In Dar'a, the railroad network is old, since it was built during the Ottoman era and was put into use in 1909. This network has an international character, since it links Syria with a number of Arab countries and internal lines branch off it connecting the downtown area of the city with a number of villages in the east, west and north by means of the line that links Dar'a and Damascus. In other words, Dar'a can depend on the train as the basic means of transportation and we would find a solution to the crisis, if only all the lines were in operation and trains were using them. However, the reality is completely different. The only line that is currently in operation is the Dar'a-Basra line and it would be better if this line in its current condition did not exist at all, because of the waste and enormous costs that the agency is incurring and the limitation of the services that this line offers compared to the funds that are required to carry out these services. The daily revenue of the railroad lines in use is less than 100 Syrian pounds under the best conditions, since the number of passengers is very small. The lists of the Station Administration show that the average number of passengers going from Dar'a to Basra is about 40 and the number going from Basra to Dar'a is about 50. The train picks up these passengers from the villages that it passes and the fare varies between 100 and 200 Syrian piasters per person. This activity requires a number of necessities, the most important of which is fuel. One trip requires 1000 Syrian pounds' worth of heavy oil, in addition to the other resources, the wages of the workers and rail employees and various other services.

Why do Citizens Refrain from Using the Train?

What are the reasons for which citizens do not like to ride the train?

A survey of a number of citizens that we took showed that the principal reasons why citizens do not ride the train are its slow speed and the schedule. The speed of the train does not exceed 35 kilometers an hour. The distance between Dar'a and Basra is about 40 kilometers and the train takes an hour and a half, if we include the time that the train spends in the stations.

On the other hand, this trip takes only about one half hour in a normal car, which saves two hours round trip.

As far as the schedule is concerned, it appears that it is connected to the time factor, since the schedule can be controlled according to need, since only one train travels on this line. Therefore, we can control it according to the needs of the people, since they are the ones who benefit from the movement of the train and the services are benefits for them. What is the use of a train on which no one travels?

There are many matters that need to be considered and settled, or else citizens will continue to avoid riding the train and the situation of lack of productivity and lack of benefit will continue and the transportation crisis in the province will become more and more serious.

At the Central Station

Let us put all this aside and head toward Dar'a station to meet with its workers and employees, in order to examine the origin of the of the problem. Perhaps we will end up with a general idea that will bring us out of the foggy and place us before the actual picture of reality.

Engineer Muhammad 'Ayash, head of the lines and buildings department at Dar'a Station, says that Dar'a station does not have an independent management, but that it is one of the divisions under the general administration of the Public Agency for the Hijazi Railroad in Damascus. Each branch is directly and independently linked to Damascus and no train may run until Damascus has been contacted and permission has been obtained. There are 95 workers and employees at Dar'a Station. There are a number of workers whose duty is the maintenance and supervision of the line between Azra' and al-Musmiyah who are administratively under Damascus but geographically under Dar'a. They have direct contact with the central administration.

As for the mechanics of the operations, it can be said that they are still completely primitive, just as they were in 1908, when the train began operating. Despite all the developments and modern technology that is used in the maintenance and running of railroads, we use regular manual labor and expansion, and repair work is done by hand using hatchets and shovels. Likewise there are no skilled foremen overseeing the work. We have asked the agency many times to provide us with a number of these foremen and we have not found attentive ears. In addition to all this, there is the bureaucracy that controls the functioning of the agency. We cannot do anything without the knowledge of the central administration. If we want any service or commodity from any department, we must send a letter to the central administration, which transfers it to the appropriate department then to the branch that is nearest to us. This affects the dynamics of the work and holds up many operations that could be carried out without this method and without this bureaucracy.

Our Efforts Have Been Wasted

Mr Nasir al-Himsi, head of the union committee, says, it is not easy to operate a railroad. It requires exhausting efforts and enormous funds. In the province, we have a railroad network that is not that bad. There is the Dar'a-Basra line, the Dar'a-al-Mazirib line and the Dar'a-al-Shajra line, which in the beginning linked Damascus and Haifa, in addition to the Dar'a-Damascus line. If this network were put to use and the steam trains were replaced by modern diesel trains, we would be able to serve the region well, especially since the Dar'a-al-Mazirib line is a touristic route and could attract a large number of people who visit the region on pleasure trips. In addition, it can be said that the line that connects Dar'a and al-Shajra and passes through the heart of the Wadi al-Yarmouk is one of the most beautiful lines in the world, because of the magnificence of the region and the attractive views that someone going to Wadi al-Yarmouk can enjoy, especially since we are in the middle of implementing the Wadi al-Yarmouk project for

produce vegetables. This line will ensure the transportation of large quantities of the harvests from the project, in addition to being a touristic line. It is about 40 kilometers long. We return to the Dar'a-al-Mazirib line to say that this line was completed by workers from the station in Dar'a and runs to al-Mazirib lake. We add that the line to the lake is about 3 kilometers. This required exhausting efforts from us and we were able to build this junction at less cost and good specifications, but the line has not been put to use!

Dangerous Work Violations

Several members of the union committee said that there were many violations in the work of the Division of Tracks and Buildings at Dar'a Station. The most important of these is that the maintenance operations on the Dar'a-Basra line have been halted for more than a month. This fact may cause the train to diverge from its intended direction because of the deviations that might occur in the line. Maintenance and supervision must be carried out daily, but the director of the division refuses to operate the equipment that would perform this task. He tells the workers to go by foot and undertake maintenance activities. Likewise, the watchman whose job it is to walk along the line and give the ready signal for the train to go has not worked since 12 March 1987, because this requires him to walk 40 kilometers one way and 40 kilometers back. We cabled the agency about this several times, but the division that gives orders in the agency has not answered and this exposes the train to danger. I went with those people to the location of the appropriate authority for these operations. The workers charged with this duty spend their work hours walking around near the station. The station needs daily oversight and other operations in order to ensure the safety of the train before it leaves the station.

It remains for me to say that the train in its current condition is worthless because of the fact that citizens avoid riding it because it is slow and because its departure times are not convenient for them, since it leaves Basra at 6:34 in the morning and arrives in Dar'a at 7:58. It leaves Dar'a at 14:30 and arrives in Basra at 16:00. As for the Damascus-Dar'a line, it leaves Dar'a at 6:26 in the morning and arrives in Damascus at 9:58 and leaves Damascus at 14:40 and arrives at 18:14. Thus, the trip from Damascus to Dar'a takes almost 4 hours, although the distance is less than 100 kilometers. For these reasons, people avoid riding the train. Since the train is a means of serving the people and ensuring that their needs are met, we must look for more beneficial and useful ways. We must also replace the old trains that have been around for dozens of years with more modern ones.

The Public Transportation Crisis is Getting More Serious Each Day

Let us change the discussion of public means of transportation and talk about the minibuses, which are the only means of transportation designated as transportation to and from the rural areas of the province. Citizens have many stories to tell about these minibuses, since they are subjected to a great deal of overcrowding, which occurs especially during the morning when workers, students, laborers and shopkeepers head to the center of the province to go about their business. During this period, there is severe overcrowding

inside the minibuses, since there are too few of them and their trips are not regular. For example, on the Dar'a-Basra line, where there are theoretically 29 minibuses and in reality 16, they leave randomly and without regularity. The general principle is that the driver does not leave until the minibus is filled with passengers.

This is the beginning of the troubles of the inhabitants of the villages which these minibuses service. On the line itself, there are three villages, the residents of which depend for their transportation on this line. They have no other means of transportation. When the minibuses cross these villages they are full and there is no place, as they say, for a foot. They are forced to get on one way or another, so that you find that a minibus that is meant for 20 passengers is carrying 70. The driver answers anyone who complains by saying that if he does not like it, he can get off. "Do you want to cut off our means of support?" and "is it not enough that we cannot find one tire at the Automobile Agency" are excuses and statements that the drivers repeat perpetually and continuously. The province's traffic police tell of their dismay at this situation, saying that "we do not know what to do. If we forbid the drivers from carrying such a large number of passengers, citizens are unable to get to work on time and complain to department of supplies that the drivers do not stop in the villages. If we let them carry excessive numbers, the complaints about the greed of the drivers and the large number of passengers increase."

What Is the Solution?

But is this the solution? I do not think so at all. The minibuses are designated to carry a specific number of people and any excess over this number exposes everyone to various dangers. Given this fact, we must deal with the problem and all the excuses offered are not valid. The most important of the possible solutions would be to put the train into effective service in accordance with what the current situation requires and with modern and advanced equipment, create coordination and fruitful cooperation among all the appropriate agencies in order to come up with one formula that serves the citizens, whose interests are the ones that should be served, and, at the same time, unify the supervising agencies in order that things run smoothly and so that there is a precise adherence to the instructions that are issued in this matter. This way we will do away with the dispersion and waste. We say this because of our observation of this lack of cooperation and coordination. For example, in the records of the Transportation Department, it says that there are 148 minibuses operating on the Damascus-Dar'a line, whereas the records of the drivers' union say that there are only 85. Likewise, for the Dar'a-Basra line, according to the transportation records, there are 29 minibuses, whereas according to the records of the drivers' union, there are 16 and, according to the Traffic Department, there are 19. For Dar'a-al-Shaykh, there are 26 but according to the union there are 19. The same thing goes for a large number of lines. How can we know which is the true number for the means of transportation on each line and how can we achieve coordination and balance among these lines, each according to its needs, if we do not know the true situation. Shouldn't we carefully study the situation and find the average number of riders on each line by doing field observation during various periods of the day? This general conception that we have reached will show us

a tangible reality, based upon which we can look for the appropriate solutions.

On the other hand, there are a large number of citizens who are demanding that a schedule be made for the departure of the buses, so that a bus leaves every quarter or half hour in order to establish efficient traffic on the lines and to eliminate the current situation which allows buses to stay for hours sometimes at the point of departure until they are full. This solution may be effective to a certain degree as long as the problem cannot be solved radically.

It Is Not Real Equality, But...

We return to the question that we asked before: Why do citizens avoid riding the train, when riding it is more enjoyable, prettier, safer and more reassuring, and why do they prefer to ride the buses, even when there are passengers hanging on the door and the train fares are much cheaper? The following is the answer:

The residents of the eastern region of Dar'a are the only ones who are served by the train that goes from Dar'a to Basra and crosses through several villages. The train was their only means of transportation for more than 10 years. After buses began to go to the region, they began to take the place of the train, since they were a faster means of transportation and saved more time. It seems that the residents of the eastern region suffer more than other people from the transportation crisis, despite the fact that they are the only ones to have a train that still runs, practically without passengers. The reason can be attributed to a number of factors, the most important of which is that the residents of this region suffer from a scarcity of rain and thus have little agricultural production and this region is located outside the line of the trains, which forces the peasants and their sons to go to the city to look for jobs that will guarantee them a minimum living. The invisible daily emigration to the city has increased and a very large number of citizens have come to work in the city and live in their villages. That is, they leave in the morning and return at night. For this reason we find that there is an almost fixed number of citizens who go to and return from the city daily.

Speed and Time are the Problem

We return to the problem of the train: it leaves very early in the morning because it is very slow and at this time in the morning the buses are not crowded since the students, laborers and workers have not left to go to work. Therefore, the people prefer to use the buses and the train leaves without passengers. A half hour or hour after it has left, large numbers of people pour out looking for a means of transportation to take them downtown to Dar'a. If we changed the departure time of the train from Basra to Dar'a, so that it would suit the current situation, I think that we would be able to solve half the problem. At the same time, we should increase the speed of the train a little from 35 kilometers per hour to 50 kilometers per hour. Several train station workers confirmed that the railroad can bear even much more than that without danger, as some people claim. In this way we would decrease the severity of the transportation crisis and would be using the train in a sound

and efficient manner from which others would benefit. By operating the Dar'a-al-Shajra line in the same way, we would also achieve the same results and the same services, since the train can carry 1,500 people in one trip. We would thus have a surplus of buses at the time the train leaves that we could direct toward crowded routes during this period and return to the same line after they have served this region during the peak rush hours.

Many solutions present themselves and need to be implemented in order to safeguard the safety and wellbeing of citizens. This would lead to saving time because there is a large number of laborers and workers who arrive at work late each day because of the transportation crisis. There is absolutely no excuse for wasting time on the roads waiting for the bus.

The Drivers Have Their Troubles

With regard to the other side of the problem, the problem of the drivers who own the buses, must not be neglected either, because they affect in one way or another the citizens themselves. These problems can be summed up in the fact that there have been no tires for more than 2 years, which has forced them to buy them from the black market at exorbitant prices. They buy a pair for 8,000 Syrian pounds. Add to this the oil that the government sells to gas stations for 1520 Syrian pounds per barrel and the owners of the stations sell to the drivers for 4600 Syrian pounds. The bus owners say that the operation is not profitable and if it were not for the annual fee of 12,300 Syrian pounds that they have to pay to the government they would not keep operating and would stop the buses. However, they have to pay the fee whether the bus is operating or not. This forces them to take risks and buy tires on the black market and from smugglers, taking the risk that what they are doing will become known. Several months ago, one of their colleagues was arrested as he was returning from Homs because he had put contraband tires on the bus. He had to pay 48,000 Syrian pounds and stop operating the bus for 3 months. So what are the gains they get from this work?

Starting Point

We related these problems with much clarity to the appropriate sides in order to give a general idea of the transportation problem in Dar'a Province. Perhaps we will eventually find rapid solutions that will alleviate the crisis and these long-standing bottlenecks.

13292
CSO: 4404/353

IRAQI OFFICIAL PRAISES NATION'S DIPLOMATIC STANCE

Tunis AL-ANWAR AL-TUNISIYA in Arabic 19 Apr 87 p 10

[Interview with Iraqi National Assembly Chairman Sa'dun Hammadi: "Little Tunisia Has Given the Big Arab and Islamic Countries a Lesson"]

[Text] What is the influence of Tunisian decisionmaking vis-a-vis Iran on the Arab political stage? What is the truth about the news that is circulating on relations between Iraq and America? What is the moral of the Iran-gate case?

There were other "heated" questions which AL-ANWAR presented to Mr Sa'dun Hammadi, Iraqi National Assembly chairman, on the occasion of his recent visit to Tunisia. He answered them in the course of an exclusive interview he gave AL-ANWAR's correspondent.

AL-ANWAR: Could we learn something about the gist of your talks with Tunisian officials?

Dr Sa'dun Hammadi: I conveyed to the Tunisian officials Iraq's support for Tunisia's position in defense of its independence and resistance to the acts of intervention in internal Tunisian affairs on the part of the Iranian regime. I made the statement to Tunisian officials that in the Arab east we consider that this step proves courage and determination, because unfortunately there are other Arab countries and Islamic countries in whose affairs intervention has taken place but which unfortunately for one reason or another have been afraid to take a decisive position. Although Tunisia is no larger than these countries in size, it has established determination and will in preventing interference in its domestic affairs.

I also described to Tunisian officials the latest military developments in the war with Iran. The Tunisian officials, without exception, and I can single out President Bourguiba for mention, support Iraq's position in defense of its independence and have clearly stated the view that Iraq is not just defending its own independence but is also defending the Arab countries' independence and dignity and the integrity of their territories.

Of course, alongside that, we discussed the Arab situation in general, the matter of Arab solidarity and the unification of positions, and we also

entered into bilateral relations between Iraq and Tunisia, especially in the parliamentary area.

[Question] Prince 'Abdallah, the Saudi crown prince, and also Jordan, have for some time been carrying out mediation between Iraq and Syria. Has any progress been recorded?

[Answer] I know of these acts of mediation, but so far nothing final, practical or tangible has occurred.

[Question] It is said that Syria will soon allow the transmission of Iraqi oil over its territory once again. Is this true?

[Answer] I am not aware of this news.

[Question] Who is now engaged in mediation between Iraq and Iran? Are there any results one can talk about?

[Answer] The activities of mediation between Iraq and Iran are well-known and long-standing and none of them have borne fruit.

[Question] But some people are talking about a meeting that might take place in Algeria between Saddam Husayn and the Iranian president.

[Answer] I am not aware of this news.

[Question] Do you consider that such a happening is at issue?

[Answer] On this subject I can talk only in principle. We are most prepared to resolve the struggle by peaceful means of negotiation.

[Question] What, according to your view, is the moral of the Irangate case as far as the Arabs in general and Iraq in particular are concerned?

[Answer] The important lesson which must be learned is that the big countries act in accordance with interests and not principles. The other important thing is that the big country on whose credibility some Arabs relied, and which they insisted was concerned with their independence, welfare and interests, this country has acted in a manner totally different from such talk.

The moral of this is that it is necessary to rely on oneself and that we in the Arab countries must rely on one another, unify our statements and our resources and strengthen our ranks.

The United States has proved that it does not ascribe importance to the Arab countries for the reason that it sought its short-term interest through its support for Iran. What does supplying Iran with arms mean? It means helping it occupy an Arab country. The consequences of such an occupation will not stop at the borders of Iraq, because, if the Iranian regime -- may God not permit it -- acquires influence in the Arab countries, the acts of sabotage and intervention in the domestic affairs of the other Arab countries will be

much easier, and all the elements which it can rely on in Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt and so forth will be stimulated.

[Question] Washington has declared that John Whitehead, the assistant American secretary of state, will soon visit Iraq. Has Iraq given agreement to this visit, and what does it expect from it?

[Answer] I have absolutely no knowledge about this visit.

[Question] A "treaty of friendship and cooperation" was signed by Iraq and the Soviet Union in 1972. Its term ends this year. Will Iraq renew this treaty?

[Answer] I believe that the relations of friendship with the Soviet Union will continue, because the past experience has been successful.

[Question] For the first time since Egypt's membership in the Arab League was suspended, the other Arab countries have expressed their agreement in principle to Egypt's return. What is Iraq's reaction to this decision?

[Answer] I do not know that the subject of the return of Egypt has yet been discussed in an official manner in an Arab conference. That of course does not mean that there have been no dealings and bilateral discussions. I believe that the discussion of the subject of the return of Egypt must take place in the official, legitimate channel, that is, the summit conference.

11887

CSO: 4504/237

PAPERS REPORT CPI-M CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING

Isolation of Congress-I Sought

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 17 Apr 87 p 20

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 16.

THE Central leadership of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) has advocated pursuit of the "process of isolation of the Congress" by co-ordinated efforts of all secular opposition parties.

The central committee of the party, which met in Delhi last week-end, acknowledges, however, that the left front victory in Kerala and West Bengal does not offer a ready-made solution to the problem of a viable government.

The alternative as the party sees it, can only come through further intensification of mass struggles, further isolation of the Congress and a change in the correlation of forces, with the left forces and the CPM increasing their weight in shaping the political development.

Further, it maintains that the balance against the Congress cannot be turned without a principled fight on the vital issues facing the country, issues of national unity, communalism and the divisive forces.

Parties and groups which "vacillate and do not take a principled position" are unable to gather the "democratic discontent emerging out of the anti-people policies of the Congress."

"Any discordant note in the left ranks, any departure from left unity should be a matter of grave concern," the party says and regrets that the CPM and the CPI could not join forces in the recent panchayat and district elections in Andhra Pradesh to fight the Congress in cooperation with the Telugu Desam.

GROWING 'INSTABILITY'

The party sees signs of "growing instability at the Centre born out of the crisis of the system."

Its indictment goes on: "The cabinet is run as a one-man show, its collective responsibility does not exist. A common purpose of carrying out the mandate of the electorate and the wishes of the Parliament is not respected. The ministers have reduced themselves to subordinate servants of Rajiv Gandhi."

In such a situation, every scandal rocks the government, eroding its credibility every day. The second scandal concerning the defence deal exposes corruption in the highest places and reveals how unscrupulous elements are misappropriating vital defence expenditure."

After hearing reports from Kerala and West Bengal about the tactics adopted by the Congress, the central committee came to the conclusion that the ruling party violated almost every

norm of electoral conduct. "In particular, the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, reduced election propaganda to the level of street-brawls," it charges.

In the assessment of the party "the West Bengal electorate showed its political maturity in fixing the responsibility for its economic distress on the Centre's policies and gave an absolute majority to the left front. To secure an absolute majority of vote for the left front in the context of the prevailing circumstances, was an outstanding achievement."

In Kerala also, it was a "frontal fight against the combination of the Congress and the fundamentalist and communal forces."

It asked the Central government to reconsider its rejection of the party's proposals for inclusion of Nepali language in the eighth schedule of the constitution and for the creation of an autonomous council for the hill areas of Darjeeling district.

"The committee considers that with the stand taken by Mr Barnala against the fundamentalists and the all-party support to him in fighting the terrorists, a new situation is developing in Punjab which can play a big role in the hands of the secular parties."

For that reason the party considers it essential to carry on a massive propaganda to win over the people and isolate the terrorists."

Left Alternative Sought

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Apr 87 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 15.—The CPI(M) hopes to project a "Left and democratic alternative" after its success in the West Bengal and Kerala elections but does not "visualize a national alternative with the bourgeois parties". This was the opinion of the party's central committee which met here for four days from Thursday to Sunday.

Mr Harkishen Singh Surjeet, a senior CPI(M) leader, said the other Opposition parties "may join us in struggle on 'reliable issues' like prices and correct records of land tenancy rights—over which thousands are killed in Bihar—and the landlord lobby is very strong".

Asked if several other parties would not feel that the CPI(M) was "exploiting them from its ends" he said: "They are welcome to exploit us on common issues such as prices".

He welcomed the Prime Minister's move for a consensus presidential candidate. "He should consult the Opposition and let us reach a consensus. Imposition of a candidate is not a consensus".

He did not discuss with Mr Zail Singh whether he would contest the presidential election. Asked if he visualized a 1969 type of situation over the election, he replied: "I can't say".

In reply to questions on the crisis in the ruling party, Mr Surjeet asked: "How can the President dismiss the Prime Minister when he enjoys majority?"

The central committee said the victory of the party and its allies in West Bengal and Kerala was a "balance sheet of the class activities of the party and the furious class struggle expressed through the elections. The success of the CPI(M) and its allies is creating new hopes among the patriotic forces that the communal and divisive forces can be contained".

"Our victory has provided us

with a lever for the future". Mr Surjeet said. Asked if the party's assessment was based on hard realities and pragmatism or a visionary approach, he said the two went together.

It decided to take steps to coordinate the activities of all secular Opposition parties and intensify the struggle on common issues. The victory in the two States by itself "does not offer a readymade solution to the problem of a viable alternatives".

Parties and groups which "facilitate and do not take a principled position are unable to gather the democratic discontent emerging out of the anti-people policies of the Congress (I)".

The committee was "unhappy that the CPI(M) and the OPI could not join their efforts and strength in the recent panchayat and district elections in Andhra Pradesh to jointly fight the Congress (I) in cooperation with the Telugu Desam".

It felt the economic situation in West Bengal, as everywhere else in India, was "very critical because of the crisis of the capitalist path and the economic policy pursued by the Congress (I)".

The CPI(M), and its allies in Kerala "cannot rest on their oars but must continuously endeavour to win over the masses under sectarian, communal influence and bring them into the national main stream", it added.

Mr Surjeet saw contradictions in the official stand on Punjab. "The refusal of the Central Government to implement all the terms of the accord and the release of innocent Jodhpur detenus is hampering the process of secular advance", the committee felt.

PTI adds: The CPI(M) today demanded that all the facts relating to the Fairfax issue be placed before the public and all those guilty "exposed and punished".

Fairfax Probe Sought

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 16 Apr 87 p 6

[Text]

Central Committee of the CPI(M) has said that the recent political developments involving the Fairfax affair, the defence deal and the resignation of Mr V P Singh from the Union Cabinet are all indicative of the growing instability at the Centre.

CPI(M) politbureau member Harkishan Singh Surjit who briefed the press on the four-day meeting of the Central Committee on Wednesday said that the scandal concerning the defence deal exposed corruption in the highest places. It "reveals how unscrupulous elements are misappropriating vital defence expenditure.

Mr Surjit opined that in any other country the "Fairfax scandal" would have led to the immediate resignation of the Cabinet itself. The Central Committee of the CPI(M) expressed its deep condemnation of the conduct of the Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi in relation to the Fairfax affair. It also condemned the government for its refusal to face an open discussion in Parliament. "The reference to the Supreme Court judge is not an honest attempt to find truth but an escape from the judgment of the elected Parliament," Mr Surjit said. A Parliamentary Commission would have been better way of exposing the guilty.

The Central Committee said the hiring of a foreign agency under whatever pretext is an "act which is likely to endanger the security of the nation." To hire an American agency in the present international context was to be reckless in regard to the security of the country and turn a blind eye to the widespread espionage the CIA spreads

through various agencies.

The Central Committee noted with satisfaction the electoral victory of the Left fronts under the leadership of the CPI(M) and said the victories were based on policies of fighting communalism, continuous struggle against divisive forces and the policy of defending the interests of the masses.

However, the party had drawn the lesson from the electoral victory in the two states that it by itself did not offer a readymade solution to the problem of a viable alternative. The balance against the Congress could not be turned without a principled fight on the vital issues facing the country.

What was even more important, the Central Committee felt, that the message of the policies pursued by the party and its impact had not been carried to the people in fullest measure. That was why despite economic distress there was no decrease in the "political votes" polled by the Congress both in Kerala and in West Bengal. In Bengal, the Congress' voting percentage remained at 41 per cent.

The CC said the victories in the two states had galvanised radical sections all over the country and it would help in projecting the Left and democratic alternative. Calling for strengthening of all Left and democratic parties the CC expressed unhappiness that the CPI(M) and the CPI could not join hands together in Andhra Pradesh to fight local bodies elections.

Reviewing the international situation, the CPI(M) CC welcomed the latest Soviet proposal for removal of medium range missiles from Europe by both sides.

DEFENSE MINISTER GETS 'MIXED SIGNALS' DURING BEIJING VISIT

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Apr 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 22.

There are mixed signals from Beijing as regards the Chinese Government's views on the current tension on the Sino-Indian border.

The Defence Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant, and the Congress(I) team which met the representatives of the Chinese Government and the Communist Party in Beijing recently got the impression that the mood was not for escalation or for aggressive moves in relation to India. A Chinese Foreign Office spokesman, who commented on the Sino-Indian relations at the weekly Wednesday briefing in Beijing today, while reaffirming his Government's desire for an "early, fair and reasonable settlement" of the Sino-Indian boundary problem "through friendly consultations, and in a spirit of understanding and accommodation" also blamed India for amassing its troops along the border and for provoking incidents.

Mr. Pant, and the Congress(I) representatives led by Mr. Romesh Bhandari, former Foreign Secretary and head of the foreign affairs cell of the AICC(I), went to North Korea to take part in the 75th birthday celebrations of the North Korean President, Mr. Kim Il Sung. On their way back, Mr. Pant—he was told of the change of his portfolio in North Korea—and others made a transit stopover at Beijing which, whether scheduled or not, was certainly not publicised and thus had an element of Kissingerism in it.

According to delayed reports from Beijing, the Chinese Minister for Geology, Mr. Zhu Xun, hosted a dinner for Mr. Pant, while Mr. Bhandari and the Congress (I) MPs, including Mr. M. C. Bhandare and Mr. Bhuvnesh Chaturvedi, met representatives of the CPC at another dinner. Naturally, the main subjects of discussion were bilateral relations.

Though specifics could not be discussed at Mr. Pant's informal talks with the Chinese Minister, the atmosphere was extremely cordial. There was general agreement that the next round of official-level talks due to be held at New Delhi be speeded up and that modalities evolved to ensure peace along the border. The very fact that the two sides made use of Mr. Pant's stopover for an exchange of views was significant.

According to the Chinese Foreign Office spokesman at today's briefing the Indian side should, in the overall interest of the Sino-Indian friendship, refrain from provoking incidents. While commenting on the reports that India was amassing its troops and carrying out military exercises in areas along the Sino-Indian border, the spokesman said: 'We have also learnt of such news'.

'China has always held that an early, fair and reasonable settlement of the Sino-Indian boundary question should be brought about through friendly consultations and in a spirit of mutual understanding and accommodation' he noted.

/13046

CSO: 4600/1649

ALLEGATIONS ON PURCHASE OF SWEDISH ARMS REPORTED

Gandhi, Pant in Lok Sabha

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 21 Apr 87 pp 1, 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 20.—The Government today categorically denied in the Lok Sabha the allegations that bribes had been paid to senior Indian politicians and key Defence Ministry officials by the Swedish armaments firm, Bofors, to win a contract for the sale of Felds guns to this country. The Defence Minister, Mr K. C. Pant, read out the denial while making a statement at the start of an extraordinary discussion on this matter. The Prime Minister, who intervened every now and then during the discussion, reiterated that denial.

"We were very categorical that no payment would be made to any agent or middleman, openly or clandestinely", Mr Ravi Gandhi told the House. "We were given an assurance to that effect, and it was only on that basis that we moved into this matter". More importantly, he added: "If evidence is produced that money has been paid to anyone, we will take the most severe action to bring them to book".

Mr Gandhi told the opening speaker, Mr C. Madhav Reddy (Telugu Desam) to come forward with specific charges against the Government and not make allegations of a general nature. "We are not aware of any specific charges. No evidence has been given into which we could go. All that has been said is that the Government is corrupt".

He told another Opposition member, Mr Somnath Chatterjee (CPI-M), that during talks with the then Swedish Prime Minister, Olof Palme, it had been made a specific condition that there would be no middlemen. "I got an assurance to that effect from Mr Palme. And when

a Prime Minister assures us that there will be no middlemen, we have to accept his word. We have to accept someone's word".

The Prime Minister also told Mr Chatterjee: "You bring evidence. We will take action. We will see that nobody, however high, is allowed to go free . . . Give me some evidence, some direction . . . for heaven's sake, tell us in what direction to look".

Later, when Mr Mithu Dandavate (Janata) pointed out that the Swedish Radio had made specific charges, Mr Gandhi told him: "We have approached the radio company. They said they got the story from a correspondent in this country. We spoke to him. But he has refused to give us any documentation".

A little later, as Mr Dandavate went on to cite how in Japan there had been an arms scandal involving the Prime Minister of that country, Mr Gandhi told him with a smile: "The P.M. here is not involved in any scandal".

Today's discussion started with a bang, with the Opposition members demanding the suspension of question hour to enable the debate to start, and the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, Mr H. K. L. Bhagat saying that the Government was also keen to have the discussion start immediately.

And so it did, with Mr C. Madhav Reddy (Telugu Desam) initiating it with some heat and asking that the forces inside and outside the country, which were supposed to be engaged in destabilizing the Government, be named.

The discussion, however, ended, if not exactly in a whimper, on a very tame note, though followed by an Opposition walk-out.

The Opposition had little to base their speeches on, except reports of what the Swedish Radio had broadcast. Also, the Prime Minister was on his feet and answering as each major point was raised.

A third element in the collapse of the discussion was that while some pooh poohed the Government's talk of forces of destabilization, some others like Mr Indrajit Gupta (CPI) emphasized that there, indeed, were such forces.

At one point, Mr K. C. Pant told the Opposition not to take the forces of destabilization lightly. "You cannot ignore what is happening in Punjab and in Arunachal, the arming of Pakistan, the massing of troops on the border and the possibility of disinformation". He also asked whether there were not forces that would be happy to see India disintegrate. And he noted that these were forces that nobody should support, even indirectly. "Destabilization is not a figment of the imagination, you know it", he said, and added: "No holds are barred in this, and all methods are used, including disinformation".

In a gently persuasive way, he began his reply by asking how one could really defend oneself against allegations that had no basis whatever, and what the Opposition member, who had held office and whose parties were holding office in some States would do if faced with such charges. "I want you to ponder over this".

Coming to the central issue, of agents in the deal, Mr Pant noted that no less a person than Olof Palme had himself assured India that there would be no agents in the deal.

Some had mentioned Bofors' clandestine arms supplies to blacklisted countries. Mr Pant noted that could not by any means cloud India's transaction with Bofors, since not just that firm but the Swedish Government and its Prime Minister had supported the deal.

Mr Pant asked members to consider the fallout of the discussion on the armed forces. "I would like you to bear this in mind whenever such questions are discussed".

More importantly, he mentioned how the matter of modernizing the defence forces and matching the sophisticated weapons systems coming into India's neighbourhood had to be looked at, "Rising above the controversies of the day". The Government would go ahead and modernize. In that process, decisions would have to be taken involving large sums of money. And if charges, like the present

ones, were to be made, that would slow down the decision-making process and inhibit officers, even if unintended. "I would like you to ponder over this".

Mr Pant also dwelt on the need for care in hurling charges at one another. In the process of mud-slinging, some much did sometimes stick, but that was only a temporary advantage. The lasting result, however, would be that "everybody becomes a little smaller".

Mr Pant also said that while some in the House represented a million people, some had a following of tens of millions and some hundreds of millions. And he asked that the consequences of mud-slinging against these be kept in mind. For it was easy to destroy in one day reputations that had been built up over decades. "One must be ultra careful in this. Consider the impact on the system."

He added that the Government was committed to fighting corruption and would sternly act upon any information that might come to light in the present instance. At the same time, decisions would have to be taken to safeguard the country's security.

"We will not shrink from then," he told the Opposition. "We will do our duty to the country, and we will not be deterred by what you are going to say".

The following is Mr Pant's statement, made at the start of today's discussion on the allegations made regarding the Bofors deal.

On April 17, several newspapers reported a Swedish Radio broadcast on April 16 that bribes had been paid to senior Indian politicians and key Defence figures to win a contract which was awarded by the Government of India to Bofors of Sweden on March 24, 1986 for purchase of FH-77B 155 MM Towed Howitzers.

While reiterating the Government's categorical denial of this baseless allegation, I would like to place the following information before this House.

In the 1970s, the Indian Army initiated studies to identify a field artillery system to replace its obsolescent 8.5-inch guns, by undertaking a definition of its future artillery requirement and a search for possible systems which could be inducted. This resulted in a philosophy paper prepared by the Army in 1979, which led to the identification of the following basic requirements of the future gun system:—

(i) The system had to be of a truly new generation, incorporating futuristic technology:—

(ii) Its range should be about 24 km with standard ammunition, extendable to 30 km with special ammunition.

(iii) It had to have burst fire capability.

(iv) It had to have a high angle firing capability.

In addition to these basic requirements, other vital elements such as mobility, survivability, system responsiveness and stretch potential were also identified.

Between 1980-82, the Army tried and evaluated a variety of weapons systems. After a paper evaluation of almost 12 systems, six were actually tried out. As a result of these trials and a subsequent general staff evaluation, the Army short-listed four of these systems for the consideration of the Ministry of Defence. These had been offered by Sofma of France, Bofors of Sweden, IMS of the U.K. and Voest Alpine of Austria.

Government approval was accorded in April 1984, for the commencement of technical and commercial negotiations with the four short-listed firms with a view to acquiring the proposed gun system and negotiating for their licensed production in India. The Government established a high-level Price Negotiating Committee headed by the Defence Secretary, including the Secretary of Defence Production and Supplies, the Scientific Adviser to the Defence Minister, the Secretary, Expenditure, the Additional Secretary, Economic Affairs, the Financial Adviser in the Ministry of Defence and the Deputy Chief of the Army Staff.

Detailed technical negotiations were held with the four potential suppliers by the Army, assisted by scientists and technologists of DRDO and Defence Production and Supplies Department. On the conclusion of these discussions, the general staff recommended shortlisting FIH-77B of Sweden and TR-155 of France for final commercial negotiations and conclusion of a contract.

In May 1985, the Defence Secretary, as Chairman of the Price Negotiating Committee, advised the leaders of the four competing firms that the policy of the present Government did not approve of the appointment of Indian agents acting for foreign suppliers. He specially asked them to reduce their offers by the amount of such commissions, if any had been provided for. They were unambiguously advised that the

decision of the Government of India would be based entirely on the merits of each offer. The Defence Secretary further stated that the Government of India would disqualify a firm in case it came to its notice that an agent had been appointed by a foreign firm. On the eve of finalizing the contract, in response to a reiteration of the Government's policy and a demand for confirmation, Bofors replied, vide their letter of March 10, 1986, that they did not employ any representative/agent in India for the project. However, for administrative services, for example hotel bookings, transportation, forwarding of letters, they use the services of a local firm.

Besides the formally recorded deliberations of the Price Negotiating Committee, the Government of India's policy in this regard was conveyed to the Governments concerned whenever an appropriate opportunity presented itself, either through their Ambassadors in India or during the visits of senior functionaries of such Governments to New Delhi. In the case of Bofors, opportunities arose during the visit of Mr Carl Johan Aberg, Permanent Under-Secretary of State, Foreign Trade of the Swedish Government as well as during personal consultations between our Prime Minister and the late Olof Palme. The aforesaid position has been confirmed by Mr Aberg in a statement made by him on April 17, 1987 regarding the Bofors contract with India. His statement is as follows:

"Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi himself during his talks in 1985 with Olof Palme said that one of the preconditions that Bofors should satisfy in connexion with the Howitzer contract was that the company should have no middlemen. The deal should be drawn directly between Bofors and the Indian Defence Ministry. The company informed the Swedish Government representative in the autumn of 1985 that there would be no middlemen and that they would deal directly with the Indian Defence Ministry. This was conveyed by Olof Palme in his personal conversation with Rajiv Gandhi in January 1986."

It would thus be seen that there was no doubt whatsoever, in Bofors or in the Swedish Government, about the Government of India's policy that no commissions or agency fees should be paid in respect of contracts secured from India.

By inducting the Bofors FIH-77B Towed howitzer, the Government of India has achieved the following:

(i) Acquired the weapons system which, in the technical opinion of Army headquarters, is the most preferred.

(ii) Acquired it at a value cheaper than that offered by its closest competitor.

(iii) Obtained considerable price reduction from the original bid which was based on June 1984 base prices plus escalation and converted it into a fixed price contract at the reduced level.

The Government has categorically denied the allegations. The statement issued by the Government of India on April 17, 1987, reads as follows:—

The Government categorically denies the allegation contained in the news stories based on the reports broadcast by the Swe-

dish Radio and television in connexion with an arms order placed on the Swedish firm, Bofors. The news item is false, baseless and mischievous. During the negotiations, the Government had made it clear that the company should not pay any money to any person in connexion with the contract. The Government's policy is not to permit any clandestine or irregular payments in contracts. Any breach of this policy by anyone will be most severely dealt with.

"The report is one more link in the chain of denigration and destabilization of our political system. The Government and the people are determined to defeat this sinister design with all their might".

Swedish Radio Reporter

Madras THE HINDU in English 21 Apr 87 p 1

[Text]

STOCKHOLM, April 20.

"The implication that the Bofors story has its origins in India is completely wrong", Mr. Majrus Nilsson, one of the reporters in the news section of the Swedish National Radio Company, told THE HINDU in Scandinavia in response to a specific question following the parliamentary debate in Delhi earlier in the day on Monday.

"We stand by our story", he added. "We reiterate that we have reports and documents to support our case."

Mr. Nilsson is one of the reporters in Stockholm who worked on the story that contained the allegations about hefty "bribes" or kickbacks from Bofors to senior Congress (I) politicians and "key defence figures" in the \$1.3-billion deal for the acquisition for the Indian Army of 155 mm howitzers from Sweden.

His assertion is in contradiction to the official version put out in the Lok Sabha on Monday to the effect that the Government of India had information that the Bofors bribes story had emanated from Delhi and had been filed by the Swedish radio's Hong Kong-based correspondent, Mr. Rolf Prosseryd.

(The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, himself came up with this version during his intervention in the Lok Sabha debate, specifically asserting that the Swedish radio had informed the Government of India, in response to inquiries, that the report about the bribes had come from its correspondent filing from India. The Prime Minister added that when the correspondent was approached to produce evidence of his charges, he "refused" to give any of the

papers or documents on which he had "based his story").

Reassertion: Mr. Nilsson's reassertion that the investigating reporters were in possession of "reports and documents" to support their allegations came in the wake of the fresh denial by the Government of India, this time through the Defence Minister, Mr. K. C. Pant, of any basis for the story.

Mr. Pant said that not even a *prima facie* case had been made out for the bribes allegation and that there was no basis to any demand for a judicial inquiry).

Swedish radio sources indicated to THE HINDU that the question of the news section coming out with a statement, possibly providing details or documentation, was under active consideration and that a release of some kind could be expected in the near future.

Meanwhile, the liberal Swedish evening newspaper, *Aften Bladet*, has devoted two pages to an article, with photographs, to the Bofors affair and the controversy that has made such an impact in India. It quoted the Managing Director of Nobel Industries, Mr. Anders Carlberg, as saying in his annual review to the arms manufacturing company of which Bofors is a part: "Without the active political support of the Swedish Government, it hardly would have been possible for us to win this contract against competition from other West European arms manufacturers."

"Not unique" charges: The newspaper also quoted Mr. Lennart Ahlsson, the representative of the Central Organisation of Trade Unions on the Bofors Board, as saying

On response to the question whether the charges of bribery could involve a risk for the contract: "I cannot imagine that. Such charges are not unique".

It is clear that while the controversy surfaced as a result of the radio report, other Swedish journalists and publications are now beginning to look into the allegations which have major implications for India and concern an arms exporter which is under a cloud—and intense scrutiny.

Swedish Radio Company Director

Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Apr 87 p 1

[Text]

STOCKHOLM, April 21.

Standing firmly by the story put out by the news section of the autonomous Swedish National Radio Company, Mr. Jan Mosander, a staff reporter who has had a key role in the story, told THE HINDU in an exclusive interview in Stockholm that "our evidence establishes payments from Bofors to secret Swiss accounts".

He elaborated on this statement, providing what look like initial clues to the major puzzle of identities: "The recipients are Indian agents/middlemen/consultants or contacts. When we say Indian, it could be Indian in nationality or origin. In addition, there could be also other middlemen in this group".

Reminded that the Indian Government has demanded proof to back up the allegations put out by the news section of the radio, Mr. Mosander said: "Our allegations are not against the Indian Government but against Bofors. If the Indian Government sees the allegations as directed towards them, it is their problem — we can't be responsible for that."

Mr. Mosander told THE HINDU, in response to persistently specific questions, that apart from him three of the radio's reporters had seen the documentation and had access to other information for the story. The three other reporters were Mr. Magnus Nilsson, Mr. Torbjorn Spangs and Mr. Borje Ramdahl.

Even as the Swedish National Radio Company stood firmly by its story and flatly contradicted the official version put out in India's Parliament, the Swedish Government, in a new twist, initiated a formal inquiry as a follow-up to the allegations made by the radio. The allegations are that hefty "bribes" were paid by Bofors to Congress @ politicians and "key defence figures" in India.

Accusations denied: In an interview to THE HINDU here, Mr. Mosander, who has been coordinating the work here on the Bofors story, characterised "the accusation in the Indian Parliament yesterday against us and our correspondent" as "completely false and complete nonsense".

He asserted, in the face of what the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, told the Lok Sabha on Monday: "This story broke here in Stockholm. Mr. Proserud was sent to Delhi in order to cover what happened here and the background."

THE HINDU: Do you intend to present any documentary evidence today?

Mr. Mosander: We have had discussions with our sources. Our sources are afraid of being revealed. Today we are not publishing anything new. We want to hear what the Swedish Government says and what Nobel Industries say.

Q: Where will the proof come from?

A: It would come from the Swedish Government which has contacts with and access to the Swedish National Bank. It could come from Nobel Industries or Bofors. They have been asked to put all they know on the table. We have to protect our sources. We cannot disclose them and we have to be careful.

Q: Do you envisage coming up with documentary evidence soon (as reported earlier)?

A: It depends on our sources. We have daily contacts and discussions with our sources on this matter. It could even be that we have already said too much.

Mr. Mosander took some time during what is apparently a hectic day at the foreign desk of the radio's News Department to answer questions.

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Apr 87 p 1

[Text]

STOCKHOLM, April 27.

L'affaire Bofors took another unexpected turn today with the Swedish Prime Minister's press secretary, and later the Prime Minister, Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, himself making it clear—in response to THE HINDU's inquiries—that "no guarantees or assurances" or "clarifications" about middlemen or secret payments into Swiss bank accounts had been sought by the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, from his Swedish counterpart in their recent telephonic conversation and none had been given.

This was directly at variance with the version Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had provided earlier today in his address to the biennial conference of Army commanders in New Delhi: namely, that the present Prime Minister of Sweden (or the Swedish Government) had "clarified" that there were no middlemen and that "no money" was paid (by Bofors) into any Swiss bank.

I contacted Ms. Marita Ulvskot, press secretary to the Swedish Prime Minister. She said: "The Indian Prime Minister called the Swedish Prime Minister a few days ago and the Swedish Prime Minister made no such guarantees or assurances in that telephone call. It was a very short courtesy call. There were no questions asked

about this matter. There have been no other direct contacts between the Prime Ministers on this matter."

After being informed by THE HINDU of the reference to the Bofors controversy made by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in his address to Army commanders (as publicised by a news release), the news department of the Swedish National Radio Company contacted Mr. Ingvar Carlsson, Prime Minister of Sweden, for his comments.

Proof

The news department of the radio informed THE HINDU that Mr. Carlsson had said that he had had just one contact with Mr. Rajiv Gandhi recently: it was a telephone call during the Easter holidays and was just a courtesy call. Mr.

Rajiv Gandhi regretted that Sweden had a problem with reports about Bofors, but did not ask any questions about "clarifications" or the circumstances. The news department of the Swedish National Radio Company told me that Mr. Carlsson said to them that he did not give any "promises" or "assurances" to Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and did not comment on this matter.

As for secret Bofors payments into Swiss bank accounts, Mr. Borje Remdahl, one of the four reporters who, according to radio sources, has access to documents and other information relating to the alleged payment told me today: "We have documents to show that money has been paid by Bofors in connection with the Indian arms deal into secret Swiss bank accounts. That's what we said earlier and that's what we say now. We stand by our story."

Earlier in the day, the reporters of the news section of the Swedish National Radio Company who came up with the original story of secret Bofors payments to Swiss bank accounts in late 1986 in connection with the 155 mm howitzer deal with India expressed to me their unhappiness with the attitude of the Swedish Government in the matter of investigation of the allegations. In particular, they raised the question: why has the Government not pursued the matter of Swiss bank deposits with the Riksbanken, the Swedish National or Central bank?

Mr. Remdahl told THE HINDU that the radio has spoken to the official responsible for foreign transactions in Riksbanken, Mr. Lars Nystrom, and "he said that if the (Swedish) Government wants to find out if Bofors had deposited money in Swiss banks, they have only to contact the Central Bank. And it is easy for the Bank to find out about it. But so far there has been no request."

Media pressure

The radio's 12-30 news broadcast reported that the Indian Ambassador, Mr. Bhupatray Oza, revealed that he had asked the Swedish Government to investigate whether there had been any breach of contract involving the employment of middlemen and the Swedish Government has not yet made a response.

It is clear that in Sweden, the media pressure on the Government to get to the facts and pursue a more active investigation into the allegations against Bofors in the howitzer deal with India is increasing by the day.

Alleged Link Noted

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Apr 87 p 1

[Excerpt]

STOCKHOLM, April 22.

Dagens Nyheter, a leading Swedish daily, reported this morning that commissions had been paid by Bofors to Hinduja for their role in negotiations leading up to the howitzer deal with India. The article that appeared in the paper was by Borg Andersson and Bjarne Stenquist. The newspaper told me today that its sources were in the top management of Bofors. It added that it had confirmed that Hinduja has had contacts with Bofors for a considerable period of time, at least since the 1970s.

When Bofors signed a contract with the Iranian authorities for a factory to produce chemicals in Isfahan, Hinduja played an important role in arranging the deal between Bofors and the Iranian authorities in the 1970s. The deal was signed in 1974. The former managing director of Bofors, Mr. Martin Ardbo, who lost his job last March in the wake of the arms smuggling case, is also believed to have known the Hinduja group well. The factory is classified as a civilian plant by the Swedish authorities, although it produces chemicals that can be used for military explosives. "We would characterise it as a military plant," sources in the paper said. They said that it was in a military area under military guard and is considered a military target by Iraq.

The newspaper told me that Hinduja had also acted as an agent for a company called Nitro Nobel (which was then a Swedish company, now sold to a Norwegian company) and helped it to contract for a very big order for civilian explosives. Citing a source who had been in Nitro Nobel and has participated in the negotiations, *Dagens Nyheter* says that Hinduja has had business dealings in Iran since the 1920s.

Other independent Swedish business figures had also told *Dagens Nyheter* that they were aware that Hinduja had played a role in Bofors' long and tricky negotiations concerning the Isfahan plant.

The newspaper also told me that they were not making a direct connection between the article that appeared today and the Swedish National Radio Company's story. The *Dagens Nyheter* story was an independent one that said that a commission was paid to Hinduja for an advisory role and does not speak of "bribes".

The newspaper sources clarified that they did not know when the commission was paid, although their impression was that Hinduja had played an important role in the last stages of the negotiations.

Swedish Envoy's Denial

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Apr 87 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 24.

The Swedish Ambassador, Mr. Axel Edelman, today denied having criticised the Government of India in any way for the manner in which it had dealt with the allegations about the bribing of Indian officials and politicians by Bofors, the Swedish arms manufacturing company.

The denial came in the wake of a statement by leaders of various Opposition parties yesterday sharply criticising the Union Government for its 'refusal' to initiate a probe into the Bofors bribing issue.

Their charge was based on the reported observation of the Swedish Ambassador at a function here on Wednesday suggesting that it was for the Government of India to inquire into the allegation of bribery. Whatever inquiry was being made by the Swedish Government was limited to the violation of the laws of that country, Mr. Edelman was reported to have said.

In a joint statement, the Opposition leaders said the Ambassador's remarks had made it clear that "the responsibility of initiating a probe into this scandal squarely rests on the Government of India." It was for the Indian Government to make whatever inquiries it wanted; the Swedish Government would be willing to give all help in this regard, the Ambassador was reported to have said.

"Indeed, the Government's divergent reaction to the three scandals that have surfaced in recent weeks (Fairfax, German submarines and Bofors) is inexplicable and arouses suspicion," said the Opposition leaders in their statement.

The statement was issued in the names of Mr. P. Uppendra and Mr. C. Madhava Reddi (TDP), Mr. Dipen Ghosh and Mr. Basudeb Acharya (CPI-M), Mr. M. S. Gurupadaswamy and Mr. Madhu Dandavate (Janata), Mr. L. K. Advani (BJP), Mr. Virendra Verma (Lok Dal), Mr. Suraj Prasad (CPD) and Mr. Chitta Basu (Forward Bloc), floor leaders in the two Houses of Parliament.

Elaborating their suspicion about the way the three issues had been dealt with, the Opposition leaders said that in respect of the Fairfax scandal, a Commission of Inquiry comprising two Supreme Court judges had been appointed "to find out replies to questions whose answers are hardly in doubt."

In respect of the submarine scandal, a departmental inquiry headed by the Defence Secretary had been ordered, "but in the third case, which, on the face of it, is the worst of the three and where the Prime Minister has been personally involved in the negotiations, the Government refuses to institute a probe of any kind."

The statement recalled that a Swedish newspaper had accused an Indian family of financiers of accepting huge commissions for helping secure the arms deal. The family itself had denied it. "The allegations and rebuttal only underline that there is a clear case for inquiry."

The Opposition leaders expressed their resolve to carry on a crusade both inside Parliament and outside against corruption at high places, and reiterated their demand for a parliamentary probe into the Bofors deal.

The Swedish Ambassador in his denial said: "I hereby refute any of these utterances (attributed to him by the Opposition leaders). I have not made any statement of the kind put in my mouth in this report."

Mr. Edelstam said he had "tried to explain to Indian and foreign journalists, who have made inquiries, the rules and regulations which govern both the Swedish Radio Corporation and the Swedish Government in these matters. In no way did I ever criticise the Government of India. To use my name in the way that has been done seems to me to be an act of vilification."

Arms Dealer Described

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 23 Apr 87 p 1

[Text]

New Delhi, April 22: Mr Win Chaddha, the arms dealer who is reportedly involved in the Bofors fieldgun deal, is a familiar figure in defence circles and has represented several well-known arms manufacturers in the past.

Mr Chaddha, in his sixties, was named in a Swedish Radio broadcast as being the Bofors agent in India. The radio report also said Mr Chaddha was still on Bofors' payroll, but did not link him to the alleged kickback.

Informed sources said Mr Chaddha was also a representative of the West German

ship-building firm, HDW, with whom India concluded the controversial submarine deal. He is also believed to have represented another Swedish arms manufacturer, Kockum.

Mr Chaddha, who resides in New Delhi, refused to clarify or deny the allegations made by Swedish Radio. He also did not want to take about the exact nature of his work although he is available at telephone numbers listed under Anatron General Corporation.

However, the sources described Mr Chaddha as a "cultured man, a Fullbright scholar, and definitely involved in the arms trade." He has excel-

lent academic qualifications and is not from the defence services, the sources added.

Chaddha lives in the plush Vasant Vihar colony and apparently owns a fleet of Mercedes Benz cars if his parking lot is any indication. He also has a hot line phone connection between his home and office and owns a farmhouse.

But he is illmannered, rude and abusive over the telephone because of what he described as "constant harassment by unfeeling newsmen." He was furious today with press reports that the Central Bureau of Investigation had raided his office and residence. "Nonsense," he snorted

over the phone "It is a total fabrication."

Another source described Mr Chaddha as a "liaison man" and not an "agent," but went on to say the dividing line between the two was very thin.

Meanwhile, an experienced Arms officer said the Indian Army had been using Bofors guns of different calibres for nearly 40 years now. The officer, a retired colonel who did not want to be named, told THE TELEGRAPH: "As far as I know the Bofors guns were the best and they were trusted and relied upon by the jawans. I don't know about the latest guns but Bofors had a very good reputation."

/13046

CSO: 4600/1649

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS COMMITTEE SCORES DEFENSE SPENDING

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 23 Apr 87 p 5

[Text]

The Public Accounts Committee has expressed astonishment and serious concern over the "abnormal" 19 years delay, the 346 per cent cost escalation and the still continuing uncertainty over the availability of a crucial equipment that has left gaps in the country's air defence system.

In its 76th report laid on the table of the House on Wednesday, the committee under the chairmanship of E Ayyappa Reddy, MP, has severely criticised the Defence Research and Development Organisation and Air Force over the infructuous and "wasteful" expenditure incurred due to the delay.

It has emphasised the need to make the equipment pertaining to the Air Defence Ground Environment System (ADGES) available to the Air Force at the earliest, besides underlining the need for, adequate care in drafting agreement with firms, and for careful planning and efficient implementation of defence projects.

The committee has called for the urgent repatriation of the scientist who surreptitiously left the country and on whom the Defence Ministry had incurred an expenditure of Rs 6.43 lakh.

The report of the committee (eight Lok Sabha) pertained to para 10 of the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General of India for the year 1984-85, relating to the delay in the development of equipment.

The report states that the Air Force had projected an operational requirement for the equipment 'X' to function as an early warning station for air defence in March 1967. The Research and Development Establishment took more than seven years and submitted the project for development of equipment in December 1974.

The Defence Ministry took a further one and half year more to sanction the project for development of equipment at a cost of Rs 142.50 lakh including foreign exchange of Rs 84 lakh. In November 1976, a public sector undertaking was nominated to produce 41 numbers of the equipment. The model for user trial was to be given in 1982 and the supply was to begin from September 1984.

The committee has expressed surprise that even after 19 years the equipment could not be provided. It regretted that even now there is no specific indication about the time by when the equipment of great strategic importance would be actually made available.

The committee has expressed concern that the project sanctioned at a cost of Rs 142.50 lakh in July 1976 had not made any headway though orders for production to the extent of Rs 400 crore had been placed with the indigenous production agency.

A disquieting feature distinctly noticed by the committee was that even in 1971 war and during the air force exercises in later years, the need of the equipment was felt and the essential requirements are now being met by importing near suitable equipment and redeploying the available systems to cover only the more important areas.

According to the committee report a contract had to be signed with a foreign country for import of eight numbers of similar equipment at a cost of Rs 45.6 crore and the delivery was expected between 1985 and 1988.

The committee have noted with regret the failure of contract with a foreign firm for a sub-system of the equipment worth Rs 12.08 lakh. The sub-system had remained unused till

June 1985. The committee had questioned how 95 per cent of advance payment had been made without obtaining collateral security for the full amount. It has expressed dismay that though the contract with the foreign firm was terminated in 1984, no progress has been made in the arbitration proceedings launched in 1985.

The committee has also criticised the wasteful expenditure of \$ 1,84,150 in the import purchase of two tubes for the sub-system in 1982 which are still lying with the supplying company and one had even gone defective while in prolonged storage in the godown of that firm.

/13046

CSO: 4600/1651

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON INTERVIEW WITH NAXALITE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Apr 87 p 12

[Text]

KRISHNAGAR, April 15.—"It will be no wonder if we go into liquidation", said a Naxalite leader in an exclusive interview here yesterday. He was asked to comment on the trend of recent politics vis-a-vis the CPI (ML) as revealed in the last Assembly election. According to him, the voters of this district had virtually rejected the small parties, including the Naxalites. The Independent and the small party candidates touched an all-time low this year and, except for the Independent candidate, Mr Mir Fakir Mohammad, who contested for the Nakashipara seat, all of them forfeited their deposits, he said.

The election data of this district that revealed the institutionalization of a two-party system might not seem "strange" compared with that of the main pattern of poll verdict in the State. The voters in West Bengal had come out in favour of the Marxists and the Congress(I). What attracted an interested observer of political behaviour was a near-total elimination of Naxalite influence in the district. Nadia had been a "celebrated citadel" of the Naxalites since the early 70s, he said.

Though weakened because of factional feuds since the middle of 1982, when Mr Ramen Saha, a front-ranking leader of the Second Central Committee was arrested, the Naxalites had still been a formidable force in the district. Several factions of the Naxalites identified this major source of weakness and at least seven of them accepted a "common umbrella" under the Indian People's Front. The IPF equated itself with the interests of the down-trodden and aired its views against the principle of class enemy annihilation. It put up candidates in Krishnagar (East), Krishnagar (West) and Santipur constituencies. But its poll performance was miserable. It secured only 2,653 votes as against a total of

87,207 votes polled in Krishnagar (East), 3,940 against 81,926 total votes polled in Krishnagar (West) and 2,734 against 101,372 total votes polled in Santipur constituency. Another Naxalite candidate belonging to the Kamu Sanyal faction, Mr Dilip Churni, who contested for the Nakashipara seat, got 1,755 against 86,931 total votes polled. A section of the Naxalites belonging to the Communist Unity Centre joined the newly-emerged Marxist Communist Party of India. The MCP(I) contested the election from Krishnagar (East) and Krishnagar (West) constituencies. Its candidates, Mr Durgadas Boral, secured 412 votes from Krishnagar (East) and Mr Aloke Ghosal secured 683 votes from Krishnagar (West).

The Naxalite factions, which still believed in the principle of class enemy annihilation, particularly the Second Central Committee and the Communist Organizing Bureau, as well as some frontal organizations, such as Krishak Sangram Samity and the Revolutionary Youth League, gave a call to boycott the election. But the call evoked no response. On the contrary, the turn-outs in the areas which commonly passed for Naxalite zones were heavy this time, he said. According to him, the district administration became panicky and took a serious view of the call. As part of the security measures, the polling parties in the so-called Naxalite-prone areas were sent in the small hours on the day of election and not one day before the election as required by the Election Commission. The administration feared that the Naxalites would try to disrupt the polls by violence, he said.

The voters in the district listened neither to the boycott call, nor did they prefer the Naxalites in the hustings. The election had

uncovered the fast-fading influence of the Naxalites, he added. According to him, no faction of the CPI(ML) had any positive socio-economic programme that could draw the attention of the people. Most of them were suffering from a lack of funds. A large section of the Naxalites had no ostensible source of income. There was even a shortage of money for their pocket expenses. Sometimes, it became difficult for them to move from one place to another and maintain public contacts. How long would they live on the charity of friends and relatives? he asked. Moreover, there was no charismatic leader who could coordinate and handle matters for the Naxalites effectively. Poverty, unemployment and, above all, second-grade management had a demoralizing effect on the workers, he said. Actually, no promising youth had joined any faction of the Naxalites since 1983. On the contrary, a sizable section had left the party and were living mostly on trade and business. Some had,

however, turned freebooters, he confessed.

The activities of those who still believed in annihilation had also been restricted to a minimum. Their recent activities could be traced at Mayurhat village in the Hanskhali thana area, when three double-barrel guns were looted in December last year, he said. The guns were, however, recovered soon after the incident. These Naxalites were being hounded by the police every day. Most of them, especially those belonging to the ranks, had already been rounded up. The arrest of Mr. Amit Ranjan Basu, along with two of his associates from Rajwarpara, near Fulla in the Santipur thana area, on the eve of the election, had a telling effect upon the Naxalite activists. Earlier, more than 20 hardcore activists had surrendered at the call of the Super-Mohan Jatua, he said. However, Intendant of Police, Mr. Chandra more were still escaping arrest, he added.

/13046

CSO: 4600/1644

CPSU SENDING EMISSARIES TO BRIEF INDIAN COMMUNISTS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 24 Apr 87 p 1

[Text]

NEW DELHI, April 23.

IN a major departure from past practices, the Communist Party of Soviet Union (CPSU) is sending emissaries to India to brief members of the CPI and the CPM on the implications of the resolutions adopted at the 27th party Congress in Moscow and the subsequent plenum.

Asked about this here today, the veteran CPM politburo member, Mr B. T. Ranadive, told this correspondent, "this is indeed the first time that such a thing is taking place. Perhaps the CPSU wants to make very clear to members of all other communist parties, its ideas about socialist democracy and accelerated pace of economic growth."

It is learnt that two emissaries would be coming from Moscow towards the end of this month and would be meeting the CPI and CPM members separately in different cities. According to informed sources, one of them would be Mr Felix Yurlöv who had spent a number of years in Calcutta in the sixties as a Soviet vice-consul.

The visit of the CPSU representatives is taking place at an interesting time with the Congress leaders almost echoing the voice of the left while talking of a conspiracy to destabilise the situation in the country. And while both the CPI and the CPM have kept up their attacks against the Rajiv administration in the home front, the Soviet publication, "New Times" carried an editorial in the first week of this month in which the Congress defeats in Kerala and West Bengal were attributed to "local factors".

Thus the CPSU has made it clear that it sees no major plans in the policies of the Rajiv administration.

Asked whether the CPSU would like the CPM and CPI to share its views, Mr Ranadive merely replied, "Our understanding of the situation need not

always tally with that of the CPSU. The "New Times" had once complimented Mrs Indira Gandhi for opening supermarkets as it had thought this would bring down prices. But that was hardly how we saw things."

However, even though communists at home may stick to their own assessment of developments here, it is clear that the CPSU would spare no efforts to impress upon them the need to view things a little more along its own lines.

For one thing there is the issue of the left forces maintaining their independent image. In this there is no problem as neither the CPI nor the CPM has displayed any willingness to be wholly with other opposition forces while attacking the Rajiv administration.

As Mr Ranadive explained, "unlike the Janata and the BJP we cannot pooh pooh the fears of external forces seeking to destabilise the situation in India. These are genuine fears and we have to say so and at the same time tell the Congress that these forces are getting stronger because of its own failures."

So far as the CPM is concerned, the meetings of its members with the CPSU representatives will be another step towards strengthening of ties with Moscow. For the first time since its birth in 1964, the CPM was invited to send delegates to the 27th party congress. Now Moscow has once again made it clear that it has decided to consider the CPM as a representative communist force in India. Such recognition has also come from the Communist Party of China.

BRIEFS

GOA STATEHOOD PLANS--Panaji, 21 Apr--Statehood for Goa will become a reality by December this year, the Chief Minister, Mr Pratapsinh Rane, told a meeting of the Goa Planning Board today, reports PTI. Dr S. K. Gandhe, special secretary, who briefed the Press after the meeting, said the granting of Statehood would take some time as certain procedural formalities had to be completed. The Goa Government has pleaded for "special category" status Statehood for the territory, so that the present Central assistance and loans could continue, Mr Gandhe said. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 22 Apr 87 p 1] /9274

SOVIET SUPERCOMPUTER--New Delhi, 15 Apr--The Soviet supercomputer has been included in the protocol signed by the Indo-Soviet working group on computers and electronics last month, the Minister of State for Electronics, Mr K. R. Narayanan, informed the Lok Sabha today, reports UNI. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 16 Apr 87 p 1] /9274

SOVIET INDIAN OFFICE--Moscow, 21 Apr--The Soviet Foreign Office has made a separate division for India, following the reorganisation of its South Asia Department. The new set-up, under Mr Vladimir V. Surovtsev, is part of the restructuring of the Foreign Office to make it instrumental in implementing Mr Gorbachev's new foreign policy, according to diplomatic observers. Mr Viktor P. Yakunin, former Minister-Counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in Delhi, heads the second division which deals with the other South Asian countries: Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Burma, Sri Lanka and Maldives. A separate division under Mr Yuri N. Vinogradov deals with regional and economic issue, including SAARC. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 22 Apr 87 p 9] /9274

ROCKET LAUNCHING WARNING--Hyderabad, 15 Apr--Rocket launchings are scheduled at Sriharikota range (SHAR) from 27 April to 1 May between 10:30 a.m. and 12 noon and 2 p.m. to 4:30 p.m. on all days. A government press note says the danger zone are a circle of 5 nautical miles from the launcher and a sector of radius of 20 nautical miles between Azimuth angles of 60 and 100 degrees from the launcher. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Apr 87 p 4] /9274

HARYANA ELECTION DATE--New Delhi, 15 Apr--The Government assured the Rajya Sabha today that the elections to the Haryana Assembly would be held before the expiry of its present term on 23 June. The Minister of State for Law Mr H. R. Bhardwaj, who gave this assurance in reply to Mr N. E. Balaram

however, said that no date had been fixed for the elections. Mr Balaram wanted to know the reasons for not conducting elections in Haryana along with other States on 23 March. The Minister explained that the work relating to the revision of electoral rolls in the State had not been completed. Besides, the law and order situation in March, 1987 in that State was not assessed to be conducive to the holding of a free and fair elections by the authorities concerned, the Minister added. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 16 Apr 87 p 4] /9274

IRAN ALLEGATION REFUTED--New Delhi, 13 Apr--The Government today denied as "totally false and baseless" reports in U.S. newspapers alleging Indian military help to Iran. An official spokesman was asked to comment on two specific reports. One alleged that India had been supplying arms to Iran since the Iran-Iraq war started and the other that India had offered to assist Iran in building a nuclear reactor. "We have made no such offer and there is no question of giving arms," the spokesman emphasised. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 14 Apr 87 p 9] /9274

AMBASSADOR TO SAUDIS--New Delhi, 10 Apr--Mr Ishrat Aziz has been appointed India's Ambassador to Saudi Arabia. The first career diplomat to be sent to the Kingdom, he is expected to take up his new assignment on April 20. He replaces Mr Mahmoud Ibn Muhammed. Mr Aziz was earlier Ambassador to the UAE. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Apr 87 p 7] /9274

EXPECTED PRC TRADE--Tiruchi, 7 Apr--The product managers and all top executives of the various units of the Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd in the country will be meeting at New Delhi on April 10 and 11 to evolve a decade plan for the units. Mr Samat, Chairman, BHEL, will preside. Stating this at a press conference here today, Mr K. Ramakrishnan, Chief Executive, BHEL, Tiruchi, said the barter deal between China and India was being re-evaluated and the BHEL was hopefully looking forward to a direct deal with China for the supply of power equipment. Right now, the BHEL's collaborators, Combustion Engineering, US had earned a contract for supply of power equipment to China and the CE had advised the BHEL, Tiruchi to supply the components to them. On the new MHD (Magneto-Hydro Dynamics) technology for power generation in which BHEL, Tiruchi had already achieved some breakthrough. Mr S. Sridharan, General Manager, MHD said that a high-level Soviet team which recently visited India had agreed to consider giving soft loan to the first MHD project in the Tiruchi unit. Mr Sridharan also informed that the Union Government was examining this soft loan offer along with the BHEL proposal for a retrofit of the MHD technology in the existing thermal plants to increase the capacity by 20 MW. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Apr 87 p 4] /9274

RECORD FOOD OUTPUT--New Delhi, 28 Apr (UNI)--The country's food production is expected to reach a record level of 152.37 million tonnes by 1988-89 and oil-seed production which was 11 percent higher than last year would also create a new record of 1295 million tonnes this year, the agriculture minister Mr G. S. Dhillon, told the Lok Sabha today. Winding up a six-hour discussion on the demands for grants relating to his ministry, Mr Dhillon attributed the increase production to various enhanced input programmes including easy availability of seeds, fertilisers, irrigation and other services. The government

will pay special attention to plug loopholes in alienation of tribal land in 1987-88 and consistent efforts would be made to ensure that tribals cultivate their low lands. The Central subsidy for tribals would be increased from 25 percent to 50 percent for construction of rural godowns, he said. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 29 Apr 87 p 5] /9274

COLLABORATION WITH ITALIANS--New Delhi, 27 Apr (UNI)--The government has approved 227 foreign collaboration proposals with Italian firms during the period between 1982 to 1986. Of these, 30 proposals involved foreign equity amounting to Rs 1518.6 lakhs, the minister of state for industry, Mr M. Arunachalam, told the Rajya Sabha today. Replying to another question, he said nearly 205 foreign collaboration approvals were granted for the electrical equipment industry in 1985 and in 1986, the number of approvals was 175. The government has not issued any list of the industries in which foreign collaboration is allowed, the minister said. Replying to another question he said appropriation in the value of the Japanese Yen has adversely affected several segments of the Indian industry. Automobile units have collaboration with Japanese companies had been particularly affected because it had led to a substantial increase in the cost of their imports, he added. The minister of state for public enterprises, Mr K. K. Tewary, said from its inception till March the Maruti Udyog Limited had sent 205 persons for training to their collaborators, Suzuki Motor Company, Japan. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 28 Apr 87 p 5] /9274

SOVIET MINING AID--Ranchi, 20 Apr (UNI)--The Soviet Union has agreed to co-operate with India for developing 15 coal mining projects, according to official sources. It has also agreed to modernise the Patherdih washery, assist in establishing a coal preparation engineering institute at Ranchi besides creating a mine and design division in the CMPDIL, Ranchi. The Soviet Union will also assist India in underground coal gassification and geological exploration of coal resources besides preparing a master plan for the Godavari coalfields. Out of the 15 coal mining projects agreed to be developed with Soviet assistance, five are opencast projects and the rest underground mines. Contracts for preparation of detailed project reports for Kumari OCP (open-cast nine), Moher OCP and Sitanala underground projects have been signed. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 21 Apr 87 p 9] /9274

IDBI, YUGOSLAV BANK--Bombay, 5 Apr--The Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI) signed an agreement here on Friday with the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation (YBIEC) for an export credit of \$50 million. The credit is for financing the import of plant, equipment or ships from Yugoslavia. Repayment proceeds of the credit will be used for financing export of goods and services from India to Yugoslavia. The agreement was signed by the IDBI chairman and managing director, Mr S. S. Nadkarni, and YBIEC president, Mr Illija Marjanovic. The period of the credit facility will be between seven and 12 years depending on the nature of imports. It will carry a fixed rate of interest at 7.5 per annum, according to a statement issued here. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 6 Apr 87 p 8] /9274

MUSLIM YOUTH--Lucknow, 27 Apr--The zonal convention of the all-India Muslim youth convention today called for a "Hindu-Muslim no-confrontation pact" in

order to difuse the present surcharged communal atmosphere. Briefing newsmen after the two-day convention, Mr Zafaryab Jilani and Mr Jawed Habib, president and general secretary of the convention, said that such an accord was likely to ensure peaceful co-existence of the two communities as it would be based on the solution of all outstanding issues through negotiations. They said that the national Hindu-Muslim accord or the non-confrontation pact would restore confidence and help the two communities to work for the country's progress jointly. They urged like-minded people to work to give the idea practical shape. The leaders said that the convention strongly opposed the proposal for a uniform civil code as it feared that it would prove to be a threat to the unity and solidarity of the country. By another resolution, it urged the ulemas to launch a movement against unislamic practices prevalent among the Muslims like dowry, triple divorce in one sitting and wasteful expenditure on marriages. The leaders alleged that riots in many parts of the country had broken out on account of the partisan attitude on the state governments and district authorities concerned. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 28 Apr 87 p 9] /9274

AKALI DAL--L OFFICIAL--Prof Jaspal Singh of Delhi has been appointed general secretary of the Shiromani Akali Dal (Longowal), reports PTI. In a letter to Prof Jaspal Singh party chief Surjit Singh Barnala said that the appointment was being made with a view to strengthening Akali Dal (L) units outside Punjab. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Apr 87 p 3] /9274

CSO: 4600/1658

NAWA-E WAQT REPORTS KABUL'S WARNING TO AFGHAN REFUGEES**BK230944 Karachi NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 14 May 87 p 10****["Editorial Note": "Kabul's Warning to Afghan Refugees"]**

[Text] While violating Pakistani airspace, the Afghan Air Force planes dropped pamphlets on Miran Shah, enticing Afghan refugees to return to Afghanistan, and also warning them that if they do not return to their homeland, they will be put to death. The hardships which the Afghan people have been facing since the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in 1979 have caused concern among all independent, sovereign nations, and all champions of human rights in the world, including Pakistan, and that is why the international community has overwhelmingly supported Pakistan's stand on Afghanistan. Pakistan has provided shelter on humanitarian grounds to the Afghan refugees who have been forced to leave their motherland to safeguard their freedom and ideology. Pakistan as well as the Afghan refugees earnestly desire to see the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions so that they can return to their homes with honor and dignity. This is the only real solution to the Afghanistan problem. But the Kabul puppet regime appears determined to exacerbate the issue. This is evident from its continued aggressive violations of Pakistani airspace and territory on the one hand and its warnings to Afghan refugees on the other, despite its unilateral declaration of a cease-fire. This is something which needs the attention of the world organizations. The Pakistani Government must also seriously consider these threats in order to assess whether or not Afghanistan is paving the way for a hot chase, because such warnings might not have come without any reasons and without the approval of the Soviet Union.

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BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO ROK—Pakistan's ambassador-designate to the Republic of Korea, Mr Shamshad Ahmad, called on the prime minister, Mr Mohammad Khan Junejo, in Rawalpindi today and discussed with him matters relating to his new assignment. The prime minister directed the ambassador-designate to work for the promotion of bilateral relations, especially the economic cooperation between the two countries. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in English 1600 GMT 18 May 87 BK]

COTTON EXPORTS—Pakistan has earned over \$362 million from exports of cotton this year. Over 3.3 million bales of cotton have already been shipped out of about 3.6 million bales committed by the cotton export corporation for export. This information was given to the commerce minister, Dr Mahbubul Haq, during his visit to the Cotton Export Corporation in Karachi this morning. [Excerpt] [Karachi Overseas Service in English 0800 GMT 13 May 87 BK]

ARMY OFFICERS PROMOTED—The government has approved the promotion of Major General Syed Zakir Ali Zaidi, Maj Gen Chaudhary Imtiazullah [Barai], and Maj Gen Imranullah Khan to the rank of lieutenant general. Their appointments will be effective from the date they will assume their new responsibilities as corps commanders. [Text] [Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 1500 GMT 25 May 87 BK]

CREDIT TO TURKEY—Pakistan has provided a credit of \$50 million to Turkey for the purchase of goods from Pakistan. Under the credit, Turkey will purchase typewriters, sports goods, surgical and medical instruments, pharmaceutical products, engineering goods, machinery, handicrafts, and (?tools). [Text] [Karachi Overseas Service in English 0800 GMT 24 May 87 BK]

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